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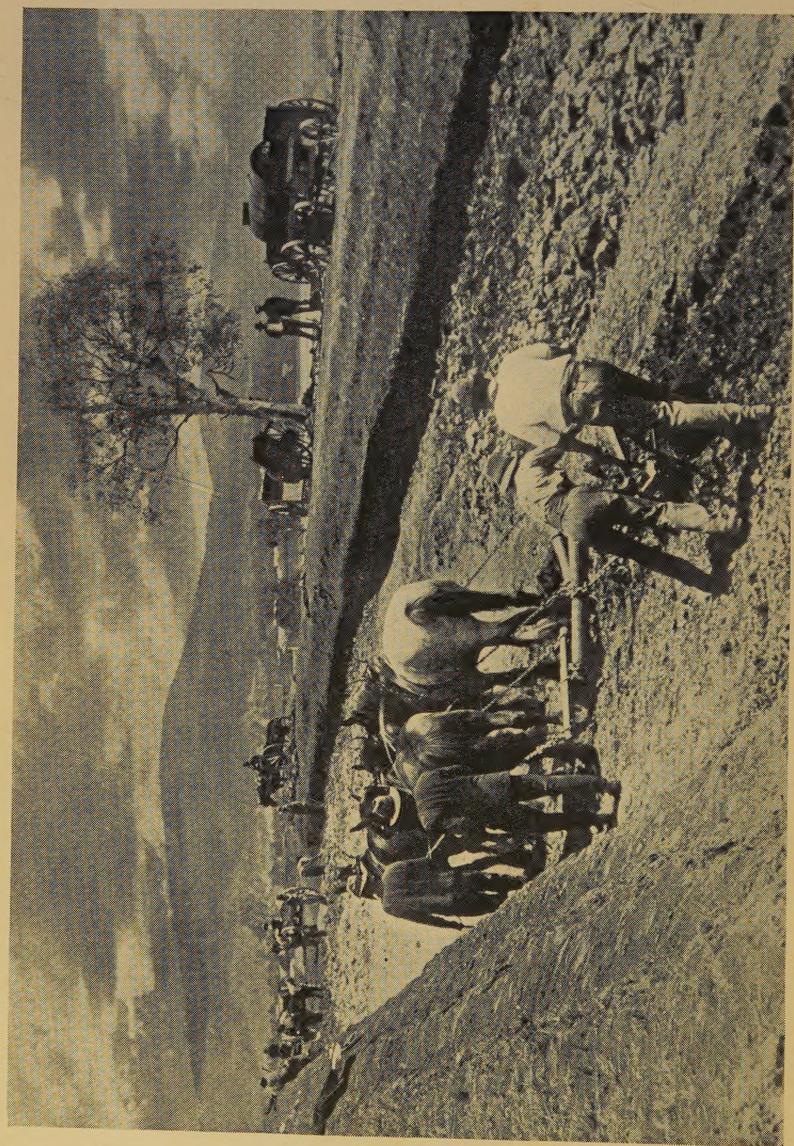
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The Age of Discovery
Woodcut of 1537



A CITY IN THE MAKING
Canberra, Australia's new federal capital

The English-Speaking NATIONS

A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
The Commonwealth Ideal

BY

G. W. MORRIS, M.A., & L. S. WOOD, M.A.

Authors of The Golden Fleece

With Chapters on
INDIA and EGYPT

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PREFACE

AT the concluding meeting of the Imperial Conference in November 1923 Mr. Baldwin, as Chairman of the Conference, on behalf of the assembled Prime Ministers and representatives of the British Empire submitted to His Majesty an address in which it was stated :

‘ We have had to face, in the course of the deliberations at both our Conferences, many and serious problems which confront the sister nations and the peoples of the British Commonwealth. We shall count ourselves fortunate if we have been able to contribute towards the solution of these problems, even to a small degree.

Yet as we look back on the years which have passed since the Great War, we are proud to feel that, amid the economic and political convulsions which have shaken the world, the British Empire stands firm and that its widely scattered peoples remain one in their belief in its ideals and their faith in its destiny.

To the task of promoting that unity, of which the Crown is the emblem, Your Majesties have long devoted your strength and labours. We pray that the consciousness of the devotion of the peoples and the members of your Empire may encourage and uphold you in that task for many years to come.’

To show the origin of some of these imperial problems, and the lines along which a solution is being attempted, is the main purpose of this book.

The central theme, therefore, has not been the military achievements of our ancestors but the development of the Commonwealth ideal and the gift to the world of the sense of imperial trusteeship—an imperial conception based upon nationality and self-government. For it is

the supreme achievement of Britain that she has given a new meaning to the word ' Empire '.

An attempt has been made to show the part played by sea-power ' upon which, under Providence, the safety and welfare of this Empire chiefly dependeth ' ; and it has been felt that any treatment of the later history of the British Commonwealth would be incomplete without some appreciation of the principles which have governed the development of the United States.

While in manuscript and proof the book has been read by those who have had personal knowledge and experience of the several countries or dominions. Our special thanks for much helpful criticism are due to Sir Paul Harvey, formerly Adviser to the Ministry of Finance in Egypt ; to Mr. K. L. P. Martin, of New College ; to Mr. C. K. Meek, District Officer and Census Commissioner, Nigeria ; to Professor S. E. Morison, Harmsworth Professor of American History in the University of Oxford ; to Mr. Kenneth Sisam, of Auckland, New Zealand ; to Professor E. A. Walker, of the University, Cape Town ; to Mr. H. B. Wetherill, of the Indian Educational Service ; and to Mr. E. Murray Wrong, Beit Lecturer in Colonial History at Oxford ; and to Mr. H. J. Larcombe for the compilation of the index.

Lastly, we wish to express our indebtedness to the Oxford University Press for placing at our disposal many unique illustrations, and for their unfailing interest, without which this book could never have assumed its present form.

G. W. M.

L. S. W.

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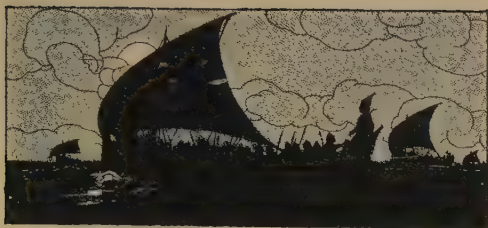


COMMERCE, ANCIENT AND MODERN

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I

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF UNITY AT HOME

BETWEEN the lands which Cerdic ruled in Wessex and the vast Commonwealth, covering a quarter of the globe, which his successor rules to-day, there is a difference so vast, an expansion so enormous, that it is difficult for the imagination to grasp its significance. But running through the long story of growth and struggle to achievement there has been the one idea of unity—unity between King and people, and unity between the peoples over whom the King ruled. Throughout it has been the British conception of unity, unity without uniformity, liberty with order.

A generation passed away after the Romans finally abandoned the outlying province of Britain before the first detachments of the Angles and Saxons and Jutes landed in the Isle of Thanet. The general restlessness that drove the growing tribes of Goths and Franks to press on the frontiers of the Roman Empire, forcing the Romans to concentrate at home and abandon Britain, drove the Angles and Saxons also to seek new lands. The significant and prophetic thing is that they, like the Norsemen after them, sought those lands overseas. Settlements were made by the 'war-bands' of the various chiefs; these brought with them their wives and chattels, like their descendants who centuries later sailed westwards to new homes across the ocean. From these

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scattered settlements there emerged seven kingdoms—Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia (the ‘ March ’ or frontier kingdom against the Britons), and Northumbria.

The conquest was slow, just as the conquest of America was slow. After the first rush of the invasion, about 450, the Britons rallied ; they were steadily driven westwards, but were not exterminated, as has so often been said. There is much Celtic blood in the Briton of to-day. By about the year 570, a hundred and twenty years after the conquest commenced, the Britons had been pushed back to a line which ran from the Solway Firth to Dorchester in Dorset, and further progress seemed doubtful. The invaders possessed, however, sufficient power of concerted action to discover and penetrate the weak points in this line, and the victories of Dyrham in Gloucestershire (577) and of Chester (613) divided the Britons into three sections. Midway between these dates (597), Augustine landed in Kent and brought to the English that example of unified government which the Roman Empire bequeathed to the Christian Church. Sixty years later the ‘ old ’ Christianity, which the Roman had introduced before the end of the occupation, and the ‘ new ’ Christianity introduced by Augustine met at the Synod of Whitby (664) and a further step was taken towards the fusion of the two races. A great priest named Theodore of Tarsus then set about organizing the Church in Britain. He had been appointed Archbishop, and insisted upon Canterbury being recognized as the central seat of the Church throughout Britain ; this, together with the tradition of the Roman Imperial organization, which the Church was now inheriting, exercised a steady influence, though the goal of unity to which it pointed was not achieved for centuries.

Meanwhile, of the seven ‘ kingdoms ’ or settlements which the Angles and Saxons had established, three made a serious bid for supremacy. These were Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex. What enabled these three to become prominent from the first is not clear ; it was possibly—as in the case of

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other and later colonial settlements—the fact that they possessed British ‘hinterlands’ into which they could expand. The most compact of these three kingdoms was Wessex, with its good natural boundaries of the Thames, the Severn, and the Cotswolds, and the Devon peninsula as a sufficient and not too large hinterland. To Wessex the supremacy eventually went; Ethelwulf, Alfred’s father, even aspired to be Emperor of Britain. Alfred, taking to heart the hard lesson of his wars against the Danes, rejected this shadow and preferred the substance of being a real king in Wessex. By 878 he had mastered the Danes in the South though he conceded to them—on condition that they embraced Christianity—England north of Watling Street, or, as we should say to-day, England north of the London and North-Western Railway, whose great centre Rugby still bears a Danish name. One of the chief advantages that Alfred secured by the Treaty of Wedmore was the break-up of Wessex’s old rival, the Kingdom of Mercia, the south-west portion of which was incorporated in Wessex. It was the work of Alfred’s children, Edward the Elder, and Ethelfleda, the Lady of the Mercians, and of Athelstan his grandson, to push northwards the boundary of Wessex, dividing the country as they did so into shires, each with its own fortified borough bearing the county name. They thus influenced subsequent industrial development and determined for centuries many of the great centres of population. This expansion reached its culminating point in the reign of Edgar. But the unity was superficial. The Danes resented absorption, and appealed to their countrymen over the seas. So far had the English forgotten the use of the sea that Alfred had to man his fleet with Frisians, and his naval efforts led to no permanent result. Ethelred, who began by buying off the Danish invaders, finally brought about the fall of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy by his foolish massacre of the Danes in England. Canute in his struggle with Edmund Ironside was able by means of his fleet suddenly to withdraw his army from the Thames and then attack Dorsetshire, and

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while Edmund was hurrying to Dorset by forced marches, to re-embark and enter the Severn. When he had drawn Edmund to the Severn he re-embarked and appeared again in London. Canute's rule was good. 'Merrily sang the monks of Ely when King Cnut sailed by.' But his empire of England, Norway, and Denmark fell to pieces on his death, and the old line was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor, who had been brought up from childhood in Normandy, his mother's home.

The court was filled with Norman favourites and officials, and England was largely conquered by Norman civilization before she was conquered by Norman chivalry. Harold put himself at the head of a national party but failed to save the country—possibly because he claimed the crown, and thus deprived himself of the support of the other great earldoms, which might have been given him had he been merely regent for the Atheling, the heir of the house of Egbert. Once again it proved impossible to stop invasion without a fleet, and the period from William I to John is the period of England's subjection to the Continent. William's victory at Hastings was the third, and the most decisive of the Danish conquests; for the Normans were only Danes who had 'picked up a bad habit of talking French'. Alfred's personal greatness had staved off the first of the Danish invasions. The country had quite failed to support the efforts of Edmund Ironside against Canute. The North stood sullenly aside and let Harold and the South try their throw against William. It was clear that in 1066 England was a long way from having achieved an organic national unity.

What three calls to resist a foreign foe had failed to achieve was brought about by the uniform and even-handed pressure of a foreign domination. So the Twelve Tribes were welded into a nation by the steady oppression of the Egyptians. So English despotism has created a nation out of Irish septs, as it did out of Scottish clans. In its earlier days the Norman conquest combined the character of a military occupation with that of

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a huge joint-stock company. Under the Norman Sovereigns all that was distinctively English was driven underground. French became the language of all but peasants. After 1066 the soldiers, statesmen, bishops, and even the landowners bore names till then unknown in English history. For familiar names like William, Geoffrey, Henry, Thomas, Richard, that we now regard as a matter of course as English, were then as novel and as Norman as names beginning with Fitz, or prefaced by 'de'. No national flag, no such things as national weights and measures, scarcely any national organization existed. Most men could not read. Life was intensely local ; there was nothing to suggest unity to the imagination. But an even-handed oppression, an exploitation without fear or favour, such a systematic inquiry as was made for the purposes of compiling the Domesday Survey, supplied the place of a national flag and broke down local prejudices. For the time, however, the English were completely subdued. Even during the reign of Stephen, when the conquerors fell out among themselves, they failed to raise a finger. Henry II, whose Empire stretched to the Pyrenees, in restoring order set up the basis of a national system of government. By his circuit judges with a central appeal court he made the King's justice supreme throughout England ; he set up a uniform standard of weights and measures ; he called upon the men of the nation to help him to adjust the balance of military power between the Crown and the barons ; he dismissed all the sheriffs at once in order to prevent the office becoming hereditary, and he strove to force the Church to fall into line with the judicial system.

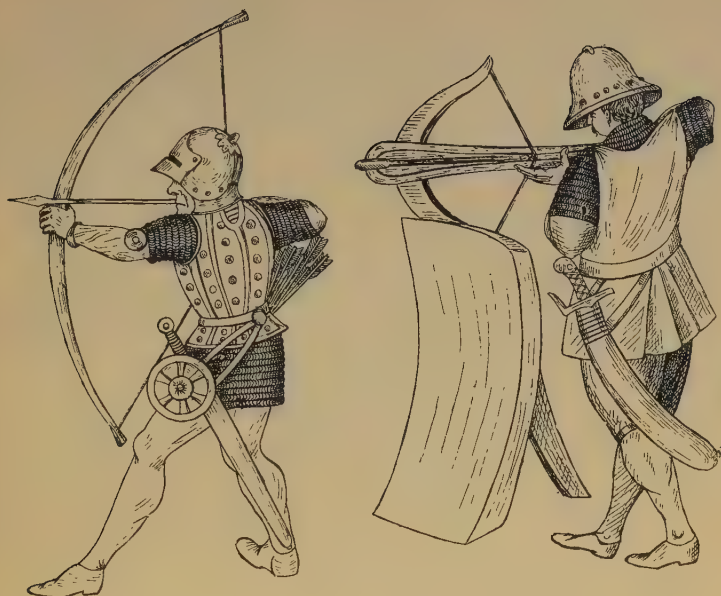
Henry was ill served by his sons. If Richard Cœur de Lion contributed little to the government of England he added to the glory of her name. John on the other hand by his greed and misgovernment united all classes, English and Normans alike, against him. From his time onwards, the foreign despotism and the English nation which it had created, and into which it was slowly being absorbed, made common cause. Magna Carta did not create English nationality nor establish

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modern liberty. Half the nation knew nothing about it. It conceded certain 'liberties' (i.e. privileges, which curtailed other people's liberty) to various classes of people. But it gave England a capital by fixing the courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench at Westminster; and the loss of Normandy made the barons more English by forcing them to choose between their English and Norman estates and to become either Englishmen or Frenchmen.

In the next reign Simon de Montfort headed a movement of 'England for the English', and Edward, the first national king (and the first sovereign since 1066 to bear an English name), followed in his footsteps. It was Edward I who definitely set about realizing the idea of a United Kingdom. He conquered Wales and went far towards establishing an overlordship over Scotland. In his Welsh wars he discovered that the longbowman was of more importance than the mailed knight; and the refusal of the Church to pay taxes in the height of the Scottish wars made him quarrel with Pope Boniface VIII and so increase the national character of the Church. He carried on the work of Henry II in codifying the existing law, and asserted the doctrine of 'England for the English' by his expulsion of the Jews, profitable as they were to the Crown. Lastly, he was the true friend of sailors. The only navy England had at this time was the 'Royal Navy of the Cinque Ports'—numerous ports on the south and east coasts, which had grown up around the original five. Edward used this navy for the purposes of an Army Service Corps in his Welsh and Scottish wars, and planned and superintended the rebuilding of Winchelsea, when the old town had been washed away by the sea.

The English language had already reasserted itself and a thin stream of English literature began to flow in the reign of Edward III, when Chaucer wrote for the Court, and William Langland for the Peasant, and when Wycliffe translated the Bible into English. In this reign the Black Death rendered unworkable the old system of holding land, and so gave the



THE CHANGING ARMOURY. Above, a longbowman and cross-bowman of the 15th century. Below, an armoured car going into action with bowman, halberdier, and heavy musketeer ; 16th century

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second blow to that system with which, more than anything else, the foreign domination of the Norman had been identified—the centralized feudalism of the Continental type. The first blow had been given by the discovery of the value of the English longbow. The Peasants' Revolt, if it failed for a moment, showed clearly the growth of a national conscious-



WINCHELSEA. Laid out by order of Edward I at the end of the 13th century. Note the square plan of the streets¹

ness. The Hundred Years War itself must have exercised a steady influence by uniting all classes against a common foe, as is testified by Archbishop Chichele's splendid war memorial, All Souls College, Oxford, founded that prayers might be offered for ever for the souls of all those Englishmen and Frenchmen who had fallen at Agincourt in the service of their country.

The period of foreign domination had made England

¹ Adapted from the Ordnance Survey Map, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

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a nation, but the Middle Ages ended before she gave any sign of her future greatness. The Middle Ages rang themselves out in England with an internecine struggle of the nobles among themselves—known as the Wars of the Roses—from which she was delivered by the Tudors. Henry VII made little show and is consequently regarded as a dull king. But he knew how to build. He suppressed all overpowerful subjects, and showed a royal clemency in dealing with pretenders. He was a friend of merchants and is remembered with gratitude in Bristol to this day. He was a master of foreign policy, and understood the importance of being a rich king. He stands out almost alone among Englishmen as having been able to treat Irish rebels with a sense of humour, and by the marriage of his daughter with the Scottish king he laid the foundation



The Reredos, All Souls College, Oxford

of the Union with Scotland. Henry VIII began by spending his father's treasure and quarrelling with Scotland. The main contribution of the first half of his reign to the cause of national unity lay in the fact that he was such a typical Englishman himself—no better and not much worse than the majority of his subjects—that the King of England was virtually the flesh and blood 'John Bull'.

The second half of the reign saw the severance from Rome of the Church in England, and Henry VIII at its head in the

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place of the Pope. This was the greatest achievement the national state had yet made, and it was not the achievement of the King only, for to every step Henry had obtained the consent of Parliament. The nation—so far as Parliament



ELIZABETH on progress

represented it—could claim credit for the achievement equally with the King. The joint character of the achievement was further emphasized by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity in which Elizabeth and her Parliaments completed Henry's work. The influence of the establishment of the State Church extended beyond England. Scotland had also embraced the Reformation, and Elizabeth by one of the boldest strokes of her reign threw in her fortunes with those of the reformers in

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Scotland. John Knox considered that he saved her reformation and she saved his. 'The embracing of one religion', wrote Maitland of Lethington to an English correspondent, 'should draw us all more straightly together.'

In countless other ways Elizabeth knit the nation more firmly together; she cared for all classes among her subjects; she made frequent progresses through the kingdom to see them; she employed her prerogative as a woman to enlist more than their service; she claimed and accepted their chivalry. It has been said of her minister Cecil that he nursed the realm as if he were the steward of a private estate. And to the solid advantages of peace and plenty Elizabeth was able to unite the emotion and zeal that spring from triumph over a common danger. The poetry of Spenser and the plays of Shakespeare are the living testimony to the contribution of the Tudors to British unity. The prophecy over the infant Elizabeth, put into the mouth of Cranmer in *King Henry VIII*, but spoke what every Englishman felt about the Virgin Queen:

Let me speak, sir,

For heaven now bids me; and the words I utter
Let none think flattery, for they'll find them truth.

{ This royal infant (heaven still move about her!)

{ Though in her cradle, yet now promises

{ Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings,

{ Which time shall bring to ripeness. . .

She shall be lov'd and fear'd: her own shall bless her,
Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn,
And hang their heads with sorrow; good grows with her:

{ — In her days every man shall eat in safety

{ — Under his own vine what he plants: and sing

{ — The merry songs of peace to all his neighbours:

God shall be truly known: and those about her

From her shall read the perfect ways of honour

And by those claim their greatness, not by blood.

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Henry's answer :

O lord archbishop . . .

This oracle of comfort has so pleas'd me
That, when I am in heaven, I shall desire
To see what this child does, and praise my Maker.

only sums up the spirit of self-confidence and hope with which the Tudors had inspired the nation.

Elizabeth raised England to a position of security never before attained and never since lost. The union of the Crowns of England and Scotland, prepared by the foresight of Henry VII, and realized under the Stuarts, was a further source of strength. No longer were there two rival religions, or two systems of royal alliances, with their attendant dangers.

On the other hand, the Stuarts inherited from the Tudors four grave problems. There was, first of all, the question of religion. The Tudors had by no means completed the Reformation settlement. Protestantism was beginning to split up, until in the Civil War the two great divisions of Anglicanism and Puritanism—or as we should say to-day the Church of England and the Nonconformists—identified with different political ideals, became Royalists and Parliamentarians, the forbears of the later Whigs and Tories, and the modern Conservatives and Liberals. The religious question thus became merged into the second great problem of the Stuarts, the Constitutional problem—a struggle for sovereignty between Crown and Parliament. The Crown claimed Divine Right not because that doctrine had not defects patent to all men, but because the Reformation, by thrusting the King into the position of Head of the Church, compelled him to claim some divine authority in mere self-defence against the Papacy ; on the other hand, the very active and robust Parliament, which Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell had re-founded and the prosperity of Elizabeth's reign had nursed, was determined not to be pushed into the background. The Tudors also bequeathed to the Stuarts the Colonial problem—the attitude of England towards the New



A NONCONFORMIST GATHERING showing costume

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World—and the problem of England's relationship with Scotland and Ireland.

Meanwhile, the great danger that had threatened England in Elizabeth's reign passed away. There was no longer any fear of her being absorbed into the Spanish Empire as she had bid fair to be by matrimony in Mary's reign and by conquest in Elizabeth's. Nor was she any longer in danger of being forced to succumb to the Counter- (i. e. Catholic) Reformation, as France had done. So she had time to turn her eyes inwards and to grapple with the problems with which she was faced.

Although feeling ran high and the sound of the Roundhead bugles may be clearly caught in *Lycidas*, which the Puritan Milton published in 1637, the Civil War never seriously threatened England's unity. No one wanted war. It would probably never have broken out if the Parliament had not attacked the Anglican Church as well as the monarchy, and thus drawn against itself the religious conviction as well as the personal loyalty to the throne of the conservative half of England. Constant efforts were made by both sides to secure peace, and when it was won they found that they had laid down not only their arms but their bitterness. The sting had gone out of them. They remained as separate parties, but their rivalry was henceforth to be bloodless and their ideals to converge. One great question after another has been removed from the sphere of party politics, and its solution has become the common concern of both sides alike. The region that divides them has shown a constant tendency to contract.

On the other hand, from the point of view of Scotland and Ireland the Civil War forms an important chapter in the story of British unity. All the turning-points in the struggle were caused by the interaction of the three kingdoms on one another. The Bishops' war in Scotland led to the fall of Strafford, so that ' he whose will in the morning swayed three kingdoms, in the evening straitened his person betwixt four walls '. The rising in Ireland in October 1641 was followed

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by the Grand Remonstrance in November, and six weeks later by the arrest of the five members. In 1643 Pym brought about the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scots. Charles replied by the Irish 'Cessation' and the Glamorgan Negotiations. For two more years the war was pursued in earnest and then Charles took refuge with the Scots at Newark. Several efforts to secure peace followed, but in 1647 Charles's 'engagement' with the Scots led to the Second Civil War.



CROMWELL CROWN-PIECE, 1658

After the execution of the King the duty of settling the kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland was so plain that Cromwell risked leaving the seat of government for two years in order to do it. It was the paramount and first necessity. Cromwell did it with characteristic thoroughness, first by hard blows—Drogheda and Wexford in Ireland, Dunbar and Worcester in the case of Scotland—and then by the good government of Henry Cromwell and George Monk, and by giving both countries, for the first time and in anticipation, representation in a British parliament. Well might Cromwell inscribe on the back of that fine crown-piece, which the engraver Thomas Simon struck in 1658, and which shows in its portrait of Cromwell the tragedy of these sad later years so plainly

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stamped upon his features, 'Pax quaeritur bello'—peace is sought by war. No man desired peace or hated war more sincerely than did this most typical Englishman. But no man was less likely to flinch from what he conceived to be his duty. In the midst of the Civil Wars he reminded the politicians in the Army that 'What we gain in a free way, it is better than twice as much in a forced, and will be more truly ours and our posterity's'. And as he lay at the threshold of death his last words were a prayer for the people of England, that they might be of one heart and one mind, caring for each other in love.

The French tinge, which had always marked the Stuart dynasty, became more pronounced after the Restoration. The Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, returned to England and resided in the Palace of the Savoy. Charles II evaded many of his money difficulties by accepting a pension from Louis XIV; he had leanings to his mother's church and died a Roman Catholic. James II never was anything else but a Roman Catholic. Consequently, the nation's invitation to William and Mary to accept the Crown involved it in war with France—a consequence which William had anticipated—and set on foot that second 'Hundred Years War', which the commercial classes possibly viewed with complacency as giving England a chance of securing the reversion of the colonial empire of Spain, on which Louis XIV was casting hungry eyes.

The Stuarts were Scots, and James was a Roman Catholic. Therefore once more the first duty of the new government was to settle affairs in Scotland and Ireland.

In Scotland the trouble was not serious, and after the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie the clans submitted, though the massacre of Glencoe left an ugly stain on William's fair name. William did not live to accomplish the union, but the Whigs who were in power in Scotland were anti-Jacobite; no religious question and no barrier of sea separated the two kingdoms; the danger of a French invasion of Scotland made

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the matter urgent, and the union was finally and permanently cemented on a basis of free trade and representation in the reign of Queen Anne. The rebellions of 1715 and 1745 only served to prove how well the work had been done.

With Ireland it was otherwise. The Reformation, which had drawn England and Scotland together, separated England



THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER. The plan of Londonderry in 1622 ; another example of town-planning (see page 8)

from Ireland. The ferocious methods adopted by English settlers in Tudor times—so unlike the methods adopted by Drake and Raleigh in their dealings with the natives of the New World—were hardly calculated to inspire confidence. James I's plantation of Ulster, if it added to the wealth of Ireland, sowed the seeds of lasting difficulties by creating there two conflicting interests and thus making all future negotiations doubly difficult. Under Charles II, though

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Ormonde who governed Ireland exercised a discreet toleration to Roman Catholics and Protestants alike, Ireland was excluded from the Navigation Acts and lost her free trade with England.

When in 1689 the European War, in which William III's accession involved the country, flowed into Ireland, and French troops were arrayed against William's English and Dutch guards at the Boyne, old memories were revived of Spaniards landing at Smerwick and of Strafford's supposed threat to bring his Irish army to reduce 'this kingdom' to obedience; and that definite fear of Ireland became implanted in English minds, which, with its accompaniments of jealousy and repression, has prevented a union of hearts to this day.

Thus at the very outset Ireland became Britain's weak spot in the second Hundred Years War with France, as Scotland had been in the first. William's campaigns terminated with the Treaty of Limerick—but the civil terms were not kept. The Protestant Parliament persecuted the Catholic but unrepresented majority, and a series of laws ensued, known as the Penal Code, in favour of which nothing whatever can be urged. The best of the Irish Catholics emigrated and took service on the Continent, so that George II was moved at Dettingen ¹ to curse his own laws for depriving him of such men.

Meanwhile the restrictions on trade stood in the way of Ireland's recovery. The export of her agricultural produce to England was prohibited; her woollen goods might be exported to no country other than England, where they were met by prohibitive duties. The Irish Anglican Church, the official Church of Ireland, was hopelessly corrupt; Swift thought its fall certain. Macaulay has painted it as a Church that filled the rich with good things and sent the hungry

¹ In 1743 George II, at the head of an army of English, Hessians, and Hanoverians, together with Dutch and Austrian forces, defeated the French at Dettingen on the Main.

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empty away. It was not only hostile to the Roman Catholics but also to the Presbyterians—who comprised most of the new inhabitants of Ulster. These high-spirited people, to whose character and backbone the siege of Londonderry¹ bears witness, emigrated in such numbers during the fifty years before 1776, that more than one-half of them found new homes across the Atlantic, where they formed not less than a sixth of the population of the Colonies at the time of the American Declaration of Independence, and in Virginia were numerous enough to change the cavalier character of the population. None the less in these years Irish trade, in spite of restrictions, was not at a standstill. Immense quantities of wool were regularly smuggled into France. The importance of Dublin as a centre of culture is witnessed by the fact that the first performance of the *Messiah* (in 1742) took place there and not in London.

During the Seven Years War (1756-63) the demand for Free Trade, first mooted in the reign of Anne, was revived, but without success. By 1776 the need for it had become more urgent: Ireland was becoming bankrupt. English troops were withdrawn and sent to America; Captain Paul

During the Seven Years War (1756-63) the demand for Free Trade, first mooted in the reign of Anne, was revived, but without success. By 1776 the need for it had become more urgent: Ireland was becoming bankrupt. English troops were withdrawn and sent to America; Captain Paul

¹ In 1689 the Protestants successfully held Londonderry during a prolonged siege against James and his Irish army.



COLONY PROMOTION AND EMIGRATION. A satiric playing-card of the time of the South Sea Bubble

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Jones—that strange free-lance—on behalf of the States was preying upon English shipping, and soon French privateers



HENRY GRATTAN

were harrying the Irish coasts and still further hindering her commerce. Nevertheless, Ireland remained loyal, though she caused considerable alarm in England. For a time after the entry of France and Spain into the war the French and Spanish ministers hoped that affairs in Ireland were tending towards insurrection, but Vergennes, the French Minister, soon confessed his disappointment. Ireland was merely making use of England's embarrassments to free herself from the disabilities from which she was suffering. She demanded Free Trade and practically got it. She then demanded Legislative Independence and got that too. In Henry Grattan she had the best type of patriot—high souled, courteous, incor-

ruptible. The news of Cornwallis's surrender to the Americans at Yorktown (1781) was received with far greater decorum and propriety in the Irish Parliament than in the English. Grattan had won the support of the Catholics and had secured his revolution bloodlessly. It looked as if a

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brilliant spring had at last burst upon the long winter of mismanagement and discontent. But the revolution was against the tendency of the age, which was in the direction of consolidation rather than division. Lord Durham¹ had not yet arisen to teach Englishmen the moral of the American Declaration of Independence. The English disliked Ireland's new sovereignty. Pitt could not persuade the English Parliament to complete its gift of Free Trade. Moreover, the Irish Parliament was corrupt: there were great abuses of patronage, and three-quarters of the populace went unrepresented.

The new hopes, however, never had a chance of realization, for the tornado of the French Revolution suddenly burst upon Europe. Wolfe Tone—a young lawyer acting in the Presbyterian interest, and, unlike Grattan, from the first a rebel at heart—called for extension of the franchise and for Catholic emancipation (for he saw that he must enlist the whole nation in his cause). In 1791 he founded the Society of United Irishmen for these ends. His appointment as Secretary to the Catholic Committee linked two forces that had hitherto been opposed. Disorder and agrarian crime spread rapidly. In 1793 a Relief Act gave to Roman Catholics the right to vote, though not to sit in Parliament. Lord Fitzwilliam was sent out as Lord Lieutenant to make further concessions, but was recalled. The formation of the Orange Society—Protestant and anti-Catholic—drove many more of the Catholics into the ranks of the United Irishmen. Wolfe Tone invited French aid and the Directory sent a considerable expedition under Hoche, which failed to land. A bitter rebellion broke out in Leinster, resulting in the battle of Vinegar Hill. A small French force, which succeeded in landing, was crushed by Cornwallis at Castlebar; Wolfe Tone was captured, and though holding the rank of a French general was condemned to death. All this drove Pitt to seek union, which was officially achieved in 1800.

¹ Lord Durham in 1839 advised the grant of self-government to Canada.

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The Union no doubt achieved its immediate purpose. For thirty years no movement was made against it ; even Grattan acquiesced in it. But though no association to repeal it ever lasted many years, its success was but partial. Brought about by corrupt means, the denial at the last moment of Catholic emancipation deprived it of its healing effect. With its Viceroy, its Dublin Castle, and its separate administration, Ireland preserved the shadowy semblance of an independent state, which it would have been safer to remove. The problem of Ireland remained unsolved. The partnership of Lord Melbourne and O'Connell came after the Tithe War, not before it. The potato famine, nobly as England strove to relieve it, led to that deplorable emigration to the United States which has formed an Ireland across the water outside the British Commonwealth. The visit of Queen Victoria in 1849 was disfigured by the Encumbered Estates Act (1850), which, by substituting for the old proprietors a new race of commercial landowners, did infinite harm to the best class of Irish landlords. Neither O'Connell's demand for repeal nor Parnell's for something more appeared to have an enduring character. With Ireland reforms always seemed to come too late. If the barrier of the Irish Channel made union less easy, it also caused the need for making sacrifices to secure it seem less imperative. In spite of the enormous amount of attention Irish affairs received in the decades before 1914, so that Lord Salisbury was moved to declare that politics consisted of Ireland and nothing else, Swift's bitter remark remained true : ' We are in the condition of patients who have physic sent to them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of the disease.' Even with the recently granted Dominion Home Rule there remains much to be done before Ireland shall cease to be the least happy and the least united member of the Commonwealth.

Besides achieving the official unity of the three kingdoms Pitt saw the need for a closer unity between the King and the people, and had begun to advocate reforms designed to

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bring it about when the French Revolution set back the clock, and stopped not only all reform but all desire for reform for thirty years. After 1815, however, when the danger was removed and the horrors of war and revolution had been forgotten, the eyes of the nation were once more turned inwards. The government of England had so far been *for* the people, not *by* the people. After the war the ideas that had prompted the Declaration of Independence and the French Revolution began to bear fruit on English soil.



AFTER THE REFORM BILL OF 1832. The Radicals William Cobbett (first) and Place (third) enter the House while the Duke of Wellington and the aristocrats stand in the background. Cartoon by J. Doyle

The Industrial Revolution, by breaking down the isolation in which the mass of the nation had lived under the Domestic system of industry and by bringing great numbers of people (and people with just grievances) together in factories gave currency to the new ideas. The result is seen in a century of political reform in which three great landmarks stand out : the Reform Bill of 1832, whereby the middle classes obtained a voice in the government ; the Reform Bill of 1867, whereby

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the town labourers obtained a voice; the Reform Bill of 1884, which enfranchised the country labourer. Besides these great enactments, each of which was followed by a mass of progressive legislation, equal steps were taken in the advancement of local government. Hard upon the Reform Bill of 1832 followed the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, which gave opportunities for that practice in government and administration which was needed if the new political rights were to be exercised with understanding. In 1870 the Education Act laid the basis for an increasingly enlightened democracy. The Ballot Act of 1872 made independent voting a reality and secured to each citizen his individual rights. In 1888 the County Councils Act rounded off the work of the Municipal Corporations Act. Finally, the extension of the franchise to women in 1918 showed that the mother country is still ready to learn from her grown-up children, and expressed within the United Kingdom itself that completer unity which was attained in the European War for liberty and existence against Germany.

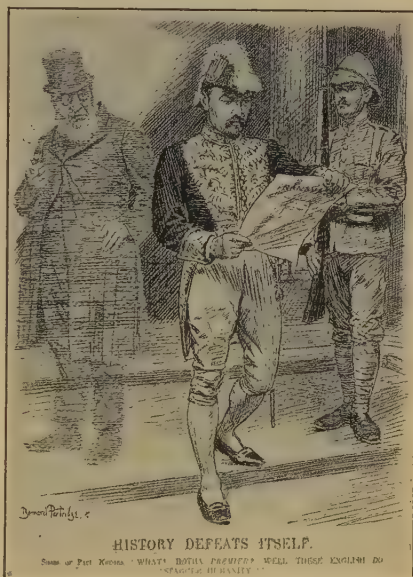
Great as the development of internal unity during the last century has been, it has been eclipsed by the strides that have been made during the same period in the achievement of that greater unity on which rests the structure of the whole British Commonwealth. To this unique unity Lord Durham first pointed the way in 1839, and the lesson which he taught has been faithfully followed. To-day self-government is the distinguishing feature of all the great component parts of the Commonwealth—self-government which is all the more valued and honourable since it has come by amicable agreement. Most striking of all was the gift in the case of South Africa—given at the close of a bitter war, nobly given, and as twenty years have proved nobly used. No hard and fast body of rules restricts the relationship of these British states. The whole spirit of British tradition shrinks from a written constitution. Through the ages British liberty has been informed by a sincerity too deep and vital to harden

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into consistency. Imperial conferences have met since 1887 with growing frequency and growing usefulness; but their composition is unfettered and no narrow limitations are placed upon their activities. It is doubtful whether the bonds which unite the manifold and diverse realms of the British Commonwealth, could be engrossed upon parchment or confined within the most elastic of formularies. But, though its political unity is unsystematized, there is no doubt of its existence and its reality. Its foundations rest on the heritage of a glorious past, on common institutions, and on common aspirations. If common allegiance to the Crown is its only legal bond of union, the Crown, owning the personal allegiance of every subject of the Commonwealth alike, assenting to all legislation, both Home

and Dominion, and possessing, in its 'undelegated residuum' of power, a means of ending deadlocks and smoothing away difficulties, is able to support the burden. With its great traditions and its age-long claims to personal loyalty it is the best guarantee of such a union as will build the future upon the sure foundation of the past, and so achieve that complete unity which does not imply uniformity and which is consonant with the spirit of true liberty.

¹ By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.



SELF-GOVERNMENT GIVEN TO THE TRANSVAAL, 1906. *Punch* cartoon by Bernard Partridge, March 1907¹

De Insulis nuper in marī Indico repertis



A bookman's fantastic illustration of Columbus discovering
America, from a woodcut of 1494



II

DISCOVERY AND TRADE

‘WHEN we would expand ourselves let it be by way of the sea.’ This was the new doctrine which was beginning to be preached in Henry VIII’s time. Expansion by land had been tried in the reign of Edward III, and if it had failed then it was far less likely to succeed in the sixteenth century, when the French kings were overcoming their feudal vassals and France was becoming a strong and consolidated kingdom.

But apart from the impossibility of such an undertaking, the wish for it was vanishing under the glamour of the new discoveries. The whole confines of the world were expanding immeasurably, and the imagination of Europe was stirred to its depths. Henry the Navigator, Prince of Portugal, though it was not vouchsafed to him to enter the promised land himself, had, in his school at Sagres, trained those seamen who rounded the Cape and found their way to India and Cathay.¹ The old overland trade routes to the East had been closed by the Turkish conquests (Constantinople 1453; Egypt 1517), but the Portuguese had opened up the sea. Columbus had tried to reach the same goal by sailing West and discovered America. Magellan had sailed through the Straits that bear his name, and shown that there was a possible way round by the South. Cabot had sailed in an

¹ Díaz, 1487; Vasco da Gama, 1498.

English ship to North America, and there were dreams of a North-West passage. Men's imagination was aroused, as the pictures on the early maps and the literature of the times testify. Desert islands, storms wherein

The sky, it seems, would pour down stinking pitch,
But that the sea, mounting to the welkin's cheek,
Dashes the fire out,

'hills whose heads touch heaven', monsters like Caliban, or



Portion of Raleigh's own map of Guiana showing the fabled Eldorado alongside Lake Manoa

those of whom Desdemona loved to hear,

The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders

were the subjects of ordinary talk. Sir Walter Raleigh in his *Historie of the World*, after declaring his own disbelief in the fable that the mountains of Ophir are defended by Griffins, 'a kind of Fowle the fiercest of all other', goes on to say that 'though this fable be fained in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the world, where wild beasts



Building a medieval ship, 1480



Magellan's ship, 'Victoria'

or Serpents defend mountains of gold, it might be avowed. For there are many places of the World, especially in America, many high and impassable mountains which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited only with Tigers, Lyons, and other ravenous and cruel beasts: into which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to find the same war, which the Arimaspi make against the Griffins.'

Shakespeare and Raleigh fairly represent the spirit of the age, and Shakespeare leaves us in no doubt as to what he considered to be the right and proper ambition of young English manhood—

Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits.

Even 'men of slender reputation'

Put forth their sons to seek preferment out :
Some to the wars, to try their fortune there ;
Some to discover islands far away.

Wherefore Proteus' uncle, in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, importuned Proteus' father

To let him spend his time no more at home,
Which would be great impeachment to his age,
In having known no travel in his youth.

England—after being for centuries on the fringe of the civilized world—was beginning to realize that she held a point of vantage for the new ventures that lay in the future. The Mediterranean, which had so long been the centre of civilization, was becoming unimportant. The trade of the Italian republics was fast waning and a new era had dawned.

Spain and Portugal had taken the lead. France soon began to claim a share. In 1534 Jacques Cartier of St. Malo sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal (Mont Royal) and in 1540 led a definitely organized expedition. In 1555 a band of Huguenots under Nicholas Durand (Villegagnon) settled in Brazil. Another band established themselves, not very happily, seven years later on the coast of Florida.

But England was not far behind. The trade boom under Edward IV, which followed the Wars of the Roses, led to a demand for new markets. The Merchant Adventurers, a new body whose business it was to export English cloth—not raw wool, which was still the monopoly of the Merchants of the Staple—were becoming important with big centres in London and York and another in Bristol. They first turned their attention, however, to home waters, and made a determined attempt to oust the German league of merchants, known as the Hanse Merchants, which had for long held the monopoly of the Baltic. Their aim was to secure the carrying trade for English ships, and in this Henry VII supported them. He was the friend of merchants, and his own firm grasp of the importance of being rich no doubt impressed them. He realized the need of exploration. Under his patronage Cabot discovered Newfoundland—possibly the Vinland of the Vikings—and it was only owing to an accident and the long delay in the delivery of letters that Columbus sailed under the banner of Spain instead of the Cross of St. George.

The proof that England realized the direction of her destiny is the founding of the *Royal Navy* by Henry VIII, which henceforth becomes England's principal and not her secondary armed force. There had long been a sort of Royal Naval Reserve—a volunteer body—in the Navy of the Cinque Ports. The fact that Edward III and Henry V had been able to invade France so easily shows that the English had a fairly satisfactory command over the narrow seas. But piracy was a very popular and profitable trade in the Channel, and by the days of Henry VIII it was assuming 'patriotic proportions'. The English people were not the only people who played the popular game, and sometimes came off second best. In the Ballad of Sir Andrew Barton it is related how one midsummer time King Henry VIII crossed the Thames to take the air, and was met by eighty Merchants of London City :

Discovery and Trade

'O ye are welcome, rich merchants,
Good sailors, welcome unto me.'
They swore by the rood they were sailors good,
But rich merchants they could not be.
'To France nor Flanders, dare we not pass ;
Nor Bordeaux Voyage dare we fare,
And all for a Rover that lies on the seas,
Who robs us of our merchant ware.'

The robber in question was a Scottish pirate, and Henry with a great oath undertook to deal with him. At all events



PLAN OF PORTSMOUTH, c. 1544

Henry, who with all his faults was a typical Englishman and a first-rate pilot, founded the modern English Navy. He did the thing thoroughly. Arsennals were established at Deptford and Woolwich. Naval gunnery was developed. Steps were taken to deepen the estuaries of Plymouth, Portsmouth, and Bristol. The Thames pilots were chartered and Trinity House founded. The rope-making trade in Dorset was stimulated.

Henry also made great strides in construction. The Rye ship-builders had successfully experimented in building ships which could sail close to the wind. Henry carried this further

and built large ships to his own design, capable of keeping the sea for long periods. The invention of port-holes enabled the guns to be placed in tiers, instead of all on the main deck. The *Great Harry*, refitted in 1515, carried a crew of 700 men, and 50 large and 200 small guns. A new and superior system of



THE 'GREAT HARRY'

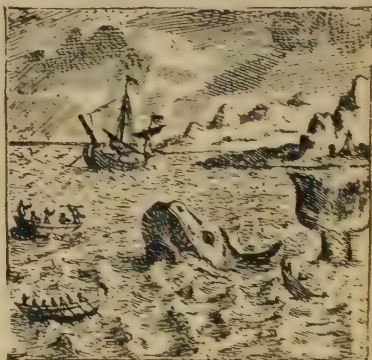
tactics thus became possible. But perhaps the most important change which Henry introduced was the institution of a Navy Board in 1546, which was in essentials the same as the Admiralty of to-day; its chief posts were filled by great seamen like Hawkins.

The steps which Henry took to build up the Navy were watched with keen interest, for England was becoming more and more a national state. The freeing of the Church at this

time from foreign control is one of the evidences of this, and the Navy and the Reformation are closely connected. Drake, for example, was a Reformation man to the backbone—his hatred of the Inquisition was only excelled by his passion for the sea. England recognized that her only chance of holding her own lay in her Navy. Consequently everything was done to foster it. Fasts were ordered, not for any ‘damnable superstition’ as Elizabeth roundly called it, but for political



A longshore-fisherman of 1568



Deep-sea whale-fishing about 1720

reasons: in other words, fish had to be eaten on two days a week, so that the fishing trade might prosper and a supply of good sailors be assured.

About 150 boats of all sizes set out each spring to the Iceland fisheries, returning in the autumn—and salting their fish as they caught them. Hemp and flax were sown for tackle—a quarter of an acre in every sixty had to be devoted to this purpose. The Government was deeply concerned to see that there were enough people engaged in the manufacture of sailcloth. The trees in the royal forests were carefully counted, and planting was systematically carried out. Smelting was forbidden for a time in the Forest of Dean because of the too great destruction of timber. Indeed, so great was the

reputation of the oak grown in the Forest that the Spaniards had orders in 1782 that, if on landing in England they found they could not conquer the country and finally had to abandon it, they were not to do so until every tree in the Forest of Dean had been destroyed.

Henry's hopes, and the hopes of England, were fired by the treasure of Robert Thorne, a Bristol merchant, about the



Map of the Western World by Robert Thorne, 1527

existence of a north-west passage to Cathay. The route was to be right over the North Pole. Thorne did not fear the ice. As the Equator had not proved too hot, so, he argued, the Pole would not prove too cold; and he held out a promise of perpetual daylight, which would make sailing the easier. That was in 1527, and in the same year an expedition set out under John Rut, a sea captain, and Albert de Prato, a canon of St. Paul's. It was financed by the King, and some of the ships belonged to the Royal Navy. De Prato's ship foundered, but Rut reached Labrador, where he was finally turned back

by ice, continued down the American coast, traded with the West Indies, the first Englishman to do so, and returned safely.

In 1536 Martin Hore of London made a similar attempt less successfully, but he also returned. Meanwhile, William Hawkins had made three voyages to Brazil, bringing back a native chief, who was the cynosure of Henry's court. He set up a trade under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell, but it lasted only a few years. England was at peace with Spain and Portugal, and trade with Brazil encroached too nearly upon their preserves.

Thorne's treatise had come at the right time, when England had the means and the desire to expand by sea. Moreover, the north-east and north-west were the only waters open. The more congenial routes were in the hands of Portugal and Spain, granted to them in 1493 by the Papal Bull of Alexander VI. England had good reason to remain friendly with both these powers until 1560, when King Francis II of France died childless, and the danger of Scotland being united to the Crown of France passed away.¹ The lifting of this great danger made it possible to be less careful about offending Spain, and Englishmen began to indulge some of that desire for revenge with which the persecutions and burnings of Mary's reign had inspired them. Nominally, of course, England and Spain remained at peace till 1585, but it was possible in the sixteenth century to preserve outward peace with Spain in Europe, while English and Spaniards were fighting one another across the Atlantic, just as it was possible to maintain outward peace with France in the eighteenth century, while Englishmen and Frenchmen were fighting on the banks of the Godaverī and the Kistna, and Red Men were scalping one another on their behalf on the banks of the Mississippi.

¹ Mary, Queen of Scots, and heir to the throne of England, had married Francis II.

The search for a north-west and north-east passage meanwhile continued. The lure was great. If such a passage could be found England would possess the shortest route to China, the Spice Islands, and indeed to India, and her profits would be enormous. It was this reason, and no mere academic interest in geography, that induced the London merchants to finance expedition after expedition to find it. It was not forgotten that when Vasco da Gama returned from the East in 1499, the cargo he brought repaid the whole cost of his expedition sixty times over. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who had promoted a scheme for finding a north-west passage in 1565, summarized his arguments in his famous *Discourse to prove a passage by the North-west to Cathaia and the East Indies* ten years later. He urged that the route would be free from interference by 'any prince living, Christian or heathen'; that it would be shorter than any other route open to other European countries; that we should open up for trade regions not yet reached by Europeans; that also



MARTIN FROBISHER

'we might inhabit part of those countries' and settle needy people there; that these regions would supply a market for English cloth and so render England less dependent upon the demand from Europe; and that new industries would spring up at home to supply the needs of the Eastern peoples and of the peoples discovered on the voyage.

Gilbert put forward this *Discourse* in 1575, and between

1576 and 1578 Martin Frobisher made three expeditions, and discovered not only Frobisher's Sound, but also the channel between Labrador and Baffin Land, which is named after Hudson. Unfortunately on the second expedition an ore was found which was thought to contain gold, and before it was proved that the gold was so slight as not to be worth ex-



GREENLANDERS WITH CANOES. From Frobisher's
De Navigatione, 1580

tracting, the third expedition had sailed. It wasted its time in collecting more ore and left the Cathay Company bankrupt. The London Merchants, however, were unwilling to let the matter drop, since if a passage could be found the profits would be so large, and in 1585 they commissioned John Davis to take up Frobisher's work. Davis discovered Davis Strait and proved that Greenland was quite separated from Labrador. Leaving his own ship he sailed in a leaky pinnace of 12 tons farther north than man had ever sailed before, and was thus,

in his achievements and in the records he left behind in his log, the pioneer of the 'scientific' Arctic explorers.

Like Frobisher, Davis made three voyages, and the quest was then abandoned for fifteen years while all available ships not actually used for trade were busy with the war with Spain. The Companies that most ardently desired to find a passage were the East India Company and the Russia Company. In 1602 the East India Company sent out George



Ice-bound Spitzbergen

Waymouth. They provided two ships, and Waymouth was to be given £500 if he succeeded, and nothing if he failed. The bait was not enough, and in four months Waymouth was back, having done little more than search the coast of Labrador. John Knight next made the venture in 1606, but was killed by the Eskimos. In the following year Henry Hudson began his systematic exploration in all quarters where success was possible, sailing first on behalf of the Russia Company. He began by attempting to sail over the Pole itself and discovered the permanent ice barrier which stretches from Greenland to Spitzbergen. He next tried between Spitzbergen and Nova Zembla. The Russia Company

had no more money to give, so Hudson made his third voyage at the expense of Dutch merchants, and further explored the north-east. He was in a little ship, the *Half Moon*, with only 20 men, who mutinied. They, however, offered to go to Nova Scotia, where he tried to find an opening through the American Continent and discovered the Hudson River. The reports his Dutch sailors gave of this in Holland led to the foundation of New Amsterdam. Hudson made one more expedition—this time a private venture financed by Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the East India Company (1610). He entered Frobisher's Strait—since called Hudson Strait—and wintered in the ice in Hudson Bay. Next spring the crew mutinied, and Hudson, his son John, six sick men, and the ship's carpenter, John King, who refused to desert his leader, were turned adrift to perish in an open boat.

Hudson was dead but his work remained, and the discovery of Hudson Bay gave fresh impetus to discovery. Baffin Bay was discovered in 1610. In 1631 Luke Foxe (North-West Foxe, as he called himself) reported that no passage was to be looked for in Hudson Bay. Forty years later the Hudson Bay Company was founded, with Prince Rupert as its first governor, for trade and 'to discover a passage leading to the Pacific Ocean'. It is the only one of the Tudor and Stuart Companies that has survived to the present day.

Though no passage was discovered these voyages had important results. England secured the whole of the fisheries of the northern seas. She gained considerable prestige, and above all there was the training in seamanship. The problem of the Tudors was how to adapt ships to oceanic conditions. A country that could send out expedition after expedition to the Frozen North, most of which were well enough handled and equipped to return safely, had gone far to master this problem.

Before Hudson began his systematic 'process of exclusion', an expedition had sailed (1553) in the reign of Mary to discover a north-east passage. This expedition was planned

by Sebastian Cabot, and commanded by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor. Willoughby was a soldier and not a sailor, but Chancellor, like another famous builder of the Russia Company, Anthony Jenkinson, was a sailor who had served a hard apprenticeship in the Levant School, where one got an insight into the ways of pirates as well as into the laws of navigation.

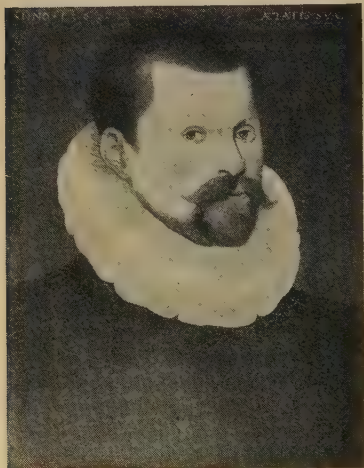
The two commanders were separated in a storm; Willoughby passed the agreed meeting place, and reaching Nova Zembla made the fatal decision to winter there. No member of his crews survived that winter. Russian fishermen afterwards found the ship with plenty of food on board and Willoughby's log, but the crew had been frozen to death. Meanwhile Chancellor found the White Sea, reached Archangel, and was surprised to find that he had only discovered the territories of the Tsar. He travelled to Moscow, presented his letters from Edward VI to Ivan the Terrible and was well received. The Russians had been exploited for so long by the Hanse Merchants—who had one of their centres at Novgorod—that a chance of more direct trade was welcomed. The Muscovy or Russia Company was founded, the first of its type, and Chancellor established 'factories' (places for storing goods) in Russia: he was succeeded as chief agent by Anthony Jenkinson, who was as energetic as himself and made long journeys into Central Asia. The Tsar also helped the trade by acquiring the port of Narva on the Baltic, thus saving the voyage to the White Sea. The Company continued to flourish till the end of Elizabeth's reign.

Although trade with Spain continued up to 1585, relations had begun to grow strained as early as 1560. Englishmen could not be expected tamely to submit to the magnificent monopolies which the Spaniards and Portuguese had acquired through their discoveries. In 1551—with the Protestant Edward VI on the throne—a syndicate of London merchants had commissioned Thomas Wyndham to trade with Morocco. This led on to the bolder venture of raiding the Guinea coast.

Discovery and Trade

A Portuguese traitor, Pinteado, helped. The trade prospered in spite of Portuguese protests and Mary's prohibition, till John Hawkins gave a new turn to it by capturing the negroes themselves instead of their gold and their pepper. These negroes Hawkins took over to the Spanish settlements in the

West Indies, and sold for about £160 apiece.



SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

His first voyage in 1562 was a success. The second (1564) was less simple, but Hawkins succeeded in spite of hostility in disposing of his cargo, studiously pointing to the friendship existing between his Sovereign and King Philip. On the third voyage (1567) things went ill. Hawkins had with him his young cousin Francis Drake, and a breach of faith by the Spaniards (who had given him a safe-conduct) at San Juan d'Ulloa, from

which Hawkins and Drake only escaped with two ships out of five, made further attempts at friendly trading in the Spanish Main useless and changed the character of English enterprise in the Atlantic. It was clear that the exclusive colonial system of Spain and the intention of the Inquisition to keep heretics out of the New World barred the way to friendly commerce.

Thus pique was added to desire of profit, and piety to patriotism, as motives. If the road of trade was barred, the way of plunder still lay open.

The treachery at San Juan d'Ulloa stirred into activity the wrath against Spain, which the persecutions of Bloody Mary, wife of the hated King Philip, had generated. 'The Roman

Catholic Lords of the Land', it has been said, 'made the Protestant Lords of the Sea'. The more pacific of the sea-dogs tried to find shorter and better routes—as we have seen—to the north-west or north-east in waters unclaimed by the Spaniard or the Portuguese. But the more warlike—led by Drake—preferred the course of 'Direct Action'.



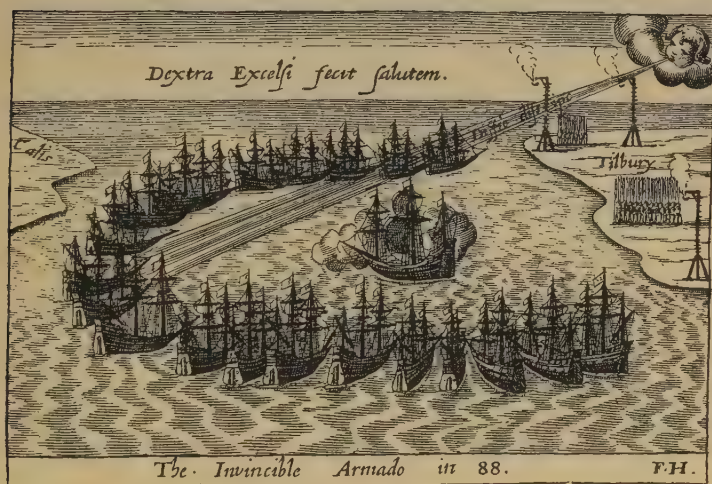
GATCOMBE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE. House where Drake is said to have stayed on his visits to the Forest of Dean

Drake—the Dragon of the Spaniards, and to this day the bogy with whose name Spanish nursemaids frighten naughty children—passed into legend in his lifetime. His father had to flee from his native place of Tavistock during the Catholic rising in the West in the reign of Edward VI, and became a Chaplain of the Fleet, living on a warship anchored in the Medway. On this Drake spent his infancy. From here he saw Wyatt's insurgents passing on to London. In the reign of Mary the Drakes, as Protestants, fell from favour, and Drake became a ship-boy on a Channel coaster, trading between Rochester and Holland, and fetching to England refugees from the Spanish persecutions in the Netherlands. As a 'wet sea-boy' he learned 'upon the high and giddy mast' to be rocked to sleep, 'in the cradle of the rude

imperious surge.' He heard in Holland at first hand how Philip was beginning to persecute his Dutch Protestant subjects. When he had finished his apprenticeship he joined his kinsmen the Hawkinses at Plymouth—he sailed once to Spain and once to the Indies in their ships before the San Juan d'Ulloa expedition. From that moment he gave the Spaniard no rest.

He raided Panama, the gate to the treasure-house of the world, where the silver from the mines of Peru lay stocked in bars waiting for the sailing of the Plate fleet : he fell upon the mule-trains of treasure as they made their way across the Isthmus, and as, from a peak in Darien, he looked forth over the shining levels of the Pacific, he vowed with God's help to sail in an English ship upon that sea. He kept his word. When next the Spaniards heard of him he had made his way through the fogs and shoals of Magellan's Strait, and fallen upon the unsuspecting towns of the Pacific. The alarm was given. After the capture of his last prize, the *Cacafuego*—with bullion worth £1,250,000 on board—when his ship was ballasted with silver, the Spanish captain asked him how he was going to get back to the Atlantic since the Straits of Magellan would be closed against him. Drake said there were yet two ways besides. He put his boast into action. First he tried for the north-west passage from the Pacific side, and sailed so far North that his rigging was caked with ice : that way was not feasible. Then, having careened his ship in what is now California—of which he took possession in the Queen's name—with magnificent audacity he struck due West across the uncharted seas to make his way home by circumnavigating the globe. On that August Sunday, 1573, on his return from Panama, the parson at Plymouth had been bereft of his congregation in the midst of his sermon by the news that Drake's ship was in sight. In 1580 his reception was no less enthusiastic when, on the 26th of September, the *Pelican* (or, as Drake had renamed her, the *Golden Hind*) came proudly to her anchorage in the Sound, fiddles

playing and flags flying—a living symbol of England's conquest of the seas. The value of the booty could not have been less than three-quarters of a million. But when Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, protested and spoke of war, the Queen, 'quietly in her most natural voice', informed him that if he used threats she would throw him into prison. He must have been convinced that she meant it when she herself



THE ARMADA. From Carleton's *A Thankfull Remembrance*, 1624

visited the ship that had done so much and knighted the 'general' on his own quarter-deck.

As soon as he had returned, Drake put into practice in Europe what became the axiom of the Navy, that the war must be carried into the enemy's waters, and the enemy's shipping destroyed in his own ports. He burnt the first Armada in Cadiz Harbour, thus 'singeing the King of Spain's beard'. He captured St. Vincent as a base. He was responsible for nine-tenths of the defeat of the Armada—for

the confidence of the English fleet, and for the stratagem of the fire-ships.

Then terror set them crazed,
They ran down, screaming :
' Fire-ships are coming ! Wake !
Cast loose, for Jesus' sake !
Eight fire-ships come from Drake—
Look at their gleaming ! '

Roused in the dark from bed,
We saw the fire grow red,
And instant panic spread
Through troops and sailors ;
They swarmed on deck unclad,
They did what terror bade,
King, they were like the mad
Escaped from jailers.

Heading all ways at once,
Grinding each other's guns,
Our blundering galleons
Athwart-hawse galleys,
Timbers and plankings cleft,
And half our tackling reft,
Your Grand Armada left
The roads of Calais.

(Masefield, *Philip the King*.)

He made his ship the *Revenge* so famous that she was taken as a model of all the new warships—the ' Dreadnought ' of the last years of Elizabeth's reign.¹

What Drake, Oxenham, Cavendish, and a host of others did to the Spanish settlements in America, Lancaster and

¹ Looking back twenty years later on these achievements men felt that the summit of glory had been reached. William Browne, of Tavistock, wrote, in *Britannia's Pastorals*,

Time never can produce men to o'ertake
The fames of Grenville, Davis, Gilbert, Drake,
Or worthy Hawkins, or of thousands more
That by their power made the Devonian Shore
Mock the proud Tagus.

Fitch did in India. If an excuse was wanting it was found when Spain annexed Portugal in 1580.

Lancaster's voyage from one point of view was a failure : his ships were lost and he himself scarce escaped with his life. But as a story of dare-devil adventure it would be hard to beat. Starting in 1591 with three ships he lost his two



CAPE TOWN IN 1652

consorts off the Cape, and in crossing the Indian Ocean his own crew fell sick with scurvy till there were only thirty-three men and a boy fit for service. They made their way to the Straits of Malacca, the highway for all the trade between the Indies and the Far East. Here they lay in wait and at their pleasure took toll of all the ships that passed. But Lancaster fell ill, and while he lay sick the crew mutinied and insisted on returning home. As they repassed the Cape, Lancaster, 'thinking it shame to return home with so little done,'

steered them across to the Spanish Main to explore Brazil. They put in at a lonely isle for water ; but while Lancaster and five of his men were ashore, the rest slipped cable and sailed off. Lancaster and his company were left to live for some weeks on ' pompions ' (a form of vegetable diet of which they did not approve), till they were rescued by a French ship sailing to Dieppe.

Fitch was a land traveller : during the eight years he was away (1583-91) he travelled all over the East, spent some time as Court Jeweller at the Court of Akbar, the great Mughal Emperor, and wandered as far as Burma and Malacca.

In 1592 the redoubtable mariner, Sir Robert Crosse, with Raleigh's fleet and an expedition of the Earl of Cumberland's, captured a great Portuguese carrack, the *Madre de Dios*. The cargo of this ship was worth about a million in money, and so great was the excitement in Dartmouth that Raleigh had to be brought out of prison (where he was making a temporary sojourn because the Queen was piqued by his marriage) as the only person capable of restoring order and saving the ship from being looted. But even more useful was the ' Notable Register of the Indies ' which was found on board, and which gave many valuable details of Indian trade. Thus when in 1599 the Dutch merchants tried to make a corner in pepper, and the London merchants determined to form a company and trade with India direct, the knowledge which Fitch and Lancaster had of the Eastern trade proved invaluable, and it was Lancaster who commanded the first voyage of the East India Company.

The East India Company was the greatest of these trading companies which are such a feature of the age. They were incorporated by Royal Charter and given a monopoly of trade. They were joint-stock affairs, in which the members pooled their money and divided the profits in proportion to their shares. The older plan, that of the Merchant Adventurers, whereby each merchant took the risk of his own voyage, was too hazardous for the new risks. But the

essential features about them are that they were voluntary, that they were only recognized, and not instituted, by the Government. The same held good in other activities; for example, in the case of the theatre it was the King's Servants, Her Majesty's Men, the Earl of Oxford's Company, the Countess of Warwick's men, that is to say, independent self-organized companies, who did the thing. The individual Englishman—of humble birth as a rule—led the way and supplied the initiative, and thus kept fresh the springs of effort and resource. The whole thing was not only thoroughly British, but it was thoroughly healthy. It was a growth from the bottom upwards, it began at the roots. The country grew rich, but the Crown remained wholesomely poor.

A type of the nobleman private adventurer of Elizabeth's reign is George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, whose 'fifth expedition' had helped to capture the *Madre de Dios* in 1592. Cumberland, like Raleigh, did not accompany this expedition, but he actually commanded six of his 'voyages' in person. His chief naval exploit was the taking of Porto Rico in 1598, which he thus described in a letter to his sister-in-law, Lady Warwick :

For the West Indies what I have done this yeare maketh it apparant that their strongest places maie be carried with reasonable forces if they be resolutlie attempted. Porto Rico was thoughte invyncible and soe helde amongst them, they called it the Maiden Towne and feared noe force, yett loste not I by the enymie Thirtie men in gettinge it : there was in the towne seaven hundred men, foure hundred of them soldiers, that receaved paie of the Kinge : I did not land full seaven hundred, which goinge without Guydes came full upon their strongest places, yett, as before I have shewed you, we carried it, though all our souldiers (except Commanders) were men untrayned, and I assure myselfe had never seene land-service most of them.

He took a leading part in the formation of the East India Company, to which he sold his ship the *Malice Scourge*, that under the name of the *Red Dragon* became the Admiral's ship

in the first expedition of the Company. It was he who sighted the Spanish squadron that fought Sir Richard Grenville, and sent the famous pinnace that 'like a flutter'd bird, came flying from far away' ¹ in warning. Cumberland remained in high favour at court, and was chosen by Elizabeth to quell Essex's rebellion in 1601. But Elizabeth's counsellors would not adopt his ambitious schemes for the capture of Panama and Havana, which he was ready to undertake if provided with a thousand men. They knew, if Cumberland did not, that at that time England could not hold settlements.

In Elizabeth's reign little was or could be achieved in actual colonization; Sir Walter Raleigh sought to found a colony in Virginia, and his half-brother Sir Humphrey Gilbert sought to found one in Newfoundland. It can hardly be asserted that either colony was really founded, established on a firm and lasting basis, in Elizabeth's reign. But the project had been mooted. Gilbert in his *Discourse* had called attention to the need of new markets. Experience had been gained. Moreover, a tradition of honourable dealing with natives had been set up, which goes far to explain the harvest of the sixteenth-century sowing. England's apparent slowness at the start of the race was the best augury for her staying power. Colonies could not be supported till a regular channel of communication could be established. Seamanship, shipbuilding, trading companies, had to be built up first, and few mistakes were made in England's progress in these matters.

An enormous increase in the nation's self-confidence took place during the forty years of Elizabeth's reign. By the end

¹ Tennyson, *The Revenge*. In 1591 an English squadron of sixteen ships was lying off the Azores, waiting for the Spanish treasure-ships. A pinnace brought the news that a Spanish fleet of fifty-three ships was approaching. The English squadron withdrew, but Sir R. Grenville, the Vice-Admiral, in the *Revenge*, remained. In the fight which ensued, the *Revenge* was captured, but not before it had done tremendous execution among the Spaniards. Grenville died of his wounds on the Spanish flagship.

of the sixteenth century Englishmen believed they could go anywhere and do anything. The command of the sea had been achieved. The chronicler Harrison could write, 'Certainly there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautiful or gallant sort of ships than the queen's majesty at this present.' In the list of them which follows, names familiar to modern ears already appear: the *Triumph*, the *Tiger*, the *Lion*, the *Victory*, the *George*, the *Revenge*, the *Dreadnought*. These ships would sail commonly three hundred leagues (nine hundred miles) in a week, and there were ships that would travel to the West Indies and home again 'in twelve or thirteen weeks from Colchester'.¹ The Canaries were eight days' sailing, and ships taking that route to Hispaniola would reach Hispaniola in thirty or forty days, and be back in Cornwall 'in other eight weeks'. 'I know it to be true,' wrote Raleigh, 'that a fleet of ships may be seen at sunset, and after it, at the Lizard; yet by the next morning they may recover Portland.' But a voyage round the world took from two to three years as Drake and Cavendish proved—Cavendish set sail in 1587 and had the Rip Van Winkle experience of returning to find that the Armada had come and gone.

Thus English colonization really began only when trade had prepared a way for it, and when shipping was sufficiently advanced to carry it and to protect it, which is the true line of development.

The sixteenth century set the feet of Englishmen definitely in the long trail, 'the trail that is always new', and established for English keels their right to the Seven Seas. It opened the way of colonization which the seventeenth century was destined to traverse. The old heroes were sinking into their graves. Frobisher, after commanding the *Triumph* with such distinction against the Armada that he earned knighthood, fell mortally wounded in 1594, helping Henry of

¹ Colchester, though twelve miles from the sea, has a quay for vessels of 150 tons at the suburb called Hythe.

Navarre, but lived to reach Plymouth and to receive a letter of thanks from the Queen. Raleigh—betrayed by his friends—suffered years of imprisonment under James I. Gilbert had perished on his way back from Newfoundland. Grenville fell mortally wounded on the *Revenge*. Most fitting of all was the end of Hawkins and Drake. Hawkins had spent many years at home organizing the Navy and the Coast Defences. Drake since the Armada had done the same. He sat as member for King Arthur's Castle at Tintagel, and spent his wealth in bringing a supply of fresh water to his beloved Plymouth and in erecting flour-mills there, that the sailors might have better biscuit. But neither of them could rest, and in 1595 they set out together on their last voyage to the West Indies. They plundered and burnt the Spanish settlements, but not with their old success.

Hawkins was the first to fail. The old Admiral fell ill and was buried in West Indian seas. Six weeks later Drake caught the fever. He refused to give way, but in vain. And so, with two of his ships blazing beside his grave as a funeral pyre—they were no longer needed as no one thought of continuing the voyage without him—and to the thunder of cannon he was 'slung atween the roundshot in Nombre Dios Bay', while clouds of black smoke from the latest Spanish fort which the sailors had fired, blew over him like a pall.



A Declaration for the certaine time of drawing the great standing Lottery.



Heading of a lottery advertisement, 1614-15, to raise money for colonization in Virginia

III

THE BUILDING OF THE FIRST EMPIRE

WHILE the Tudors were on the throne, the seeds of England's first Empire had been planted: when the Stuarts came, there were hopes of reaping the harvest. The discovery of the New World and of the new sea-routes to the East had been made by men who were hoping to find gold mines or rich markets for their trade. Hardly anybody thought of Colonies as we think of them to-day—places where men will make their homes, farming their own land: everybody was in a hurry to get rich. Although when James came to the throne, the idea was dawning that trading settlements might pay better in the end than the plundering of Spanish treasure-towns, Bacon's warning was still too often forgotten that those who plant colonies must be content to wait twenty years and 'expect their recompense in the end' (i.e. not get it).

The first serious attempt at colonization was made in 1607. Some of the leading merchants in London and the West of England decided to form a company to develop and trade with the country of which Sir Walter Raleigh had heard such glowing reports. A charter was obtained from the king in 1606. By it, the Crown claimed all North America between

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34° and 45° N. latitude ; a certain portion was granted to the company. The whole was under the authority of the Royal Council of Virginia, sitting in England ; but the colony was to have a resident council of thirteen to administer its affairs ' as near as conveniently may be to the laws and policy of this our realm of England '. The intention was to set up a new Privy Council for colonial purposes.

By the Counsell of Virginea.



Whereas the good Shippe, called the Hercules, is now preparing, and almost in a readinesse With necessarie Provisions, to make a supplie to the Lord Gouvernour and the Colonie in Virginea, it is thought meet (for the auoiding of such vagrant and vnnecessarie persons as do commonly profer themselves, being altogether vnseruiceable) that none but honest sufficient Artificers, as Carpenters, Smiths, Coopers, Fishermen, Brickmen, and such like, shall be entertained into this Voyage : of Whom so many as Will in due time repaire to the house of Sir Thomas Smith in Philpott lane, With sufficient testimonie of their skill and good behaviour, they shall receiue entertainment accordingly.

VIRGINIA. Advertisement for artificers in 1610

On New Year's Day, 1607, three ships started with 143 emigrants ; they landed at Chesapeake Bay and called their first settlement Jamestown. But they were a poor lot—' unruly gallants, packed together by their friends to escape ill-destinies.' They quarrelled with the governor, they quarrelled with the natives ; disease and want swept away half their number. The man who saved the colony was John Smith, a soldier of fortune whose life had been adventurous even for that adventurous age. He had fought in the Low Countries against Spain, and had been captured by Barbary

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pirates in the Mediterranean. He had been left for dead in a battle against the Turks in Hungary, and had made his way home to England through Russia. He now practically became the head of the colony, made friends with the natives and got corn from them, got houses built and began to trade. But the new arrivals from England were even worse than the first, 'not many give testimonies besides their names that



· SMOKING and the TOBACCO PLANT

The first printed illustration, 1575

they are Christians', sent out to the New World because they were unfit to live in the old. To remedy this state of affairs, the Company's charter was modified. A resident Governor was to be appointed by the Council in England, whose power was to be absolute. The first Governor was Lord Delawarr, who arrived in 1610 just in time to prevent the dispirited remnants from abandoning Virginia. He was succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale, who had been a soldier in the Low Countries. His rule was a stern one; he looked on the

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Colony as something of a penal settlement, as perhaps it was. But he was just and upright, and matters began to improve. A better class of emigrants began to arrive, 'most of them choice men, born and bred up to labour and industry'; and in 1619, acting on instructions from home, the Governor summoned a popular assembly composed of the Governor and his Council and Burgesses elected by the freemen of each plantation. They had power to make such laws as they thought good.



But the troubles of the company were not over. The settlers increasingly devoted their attention to the growing of tobacco; they were thus dependent on a single crop, which furthermore had to pay a heavy import duty in England. More important, it was becoming obvious that an agricultural settlement could not flourish so long as it was expected merely to provide revenue for proprietors in England. In 1623 therefore the charter was cancelled and in 1625 a new constitution was set up, which brought the Colony more definitely under the control of the Crown. There was to be a Council in England (practically consisting of a Committee of the Privy Council) which was to appoint a Governor and twelve assistants in Virginia. The House of Burgesses

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remained and steadily increased in importance. There can be little doubt that the change was to the advantage of the Colony.

England was not the only nation which had its eyes on America. As a result of Cartier's voyage up the St. Lawrence, the Frenchman Samuel Champlain had in 1608 founded



THE FOUNDATION OF QUEBEC. Champlain's house, 1613

Quebec on the steep slopes where the St. Lawrence narrows down to about a mile in width. Richelieu, the great minister of Louis XIII, wanted to make this settlement the base of a French empire in the New World. But if England in Virginia could not get the right men, France could not get the men at all; her people did not take kindly to the idea of colonization. Under Louis XIV another attempt was made to render it popular. His finance minister, Colbert, was trying to

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develop the native French industries ; he built roads, dug canals, opened ports, encouraged manufactures. Canada was to supply a market. La Salle, the explorer, had made his way down the Ohio and Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and called the new country he had discovered Louisiana, in honour of the king. Regiments who had won fame for themselves on the

battle-fields of Europe were rewarded by grants of land in Canada. Louis ardently desired to spread Christianity, and Jesuits were sent out to convert the Indians.

But the settlement did not flourish ; there was nothing spontaneous about it. The king had planned it, the king had sent out the colonists who expected the king to support them. Lands were given them—strips coming down to the bank of the St. Lawrence. They tilled them, but the farms



COLBERT

did not expand. Soldiers of fortune, they preferred adventure in the forest, where they made friends with the Indians, and set their traps for wolf and bear and fox, only coming in from their long journeys to sell their furs in the settlements. So there grew up in New France a race of hardy trappers, skilled in woodcraft, gay, brave, resourceful ; but not the merchants whose trade was to make France rich.

The development of trade with Canada was not the chief concern of the kings of France : there was civil war with the Huguenots—the French Protestants, wars over Spain and Italy, Germany and Austria and the Netherlands, which

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were to make France the dominant power in Europe. The Dutch, on the other hand, had only one thing to do, and they gave their mind to it. Blessed with few natural resources in the soil, they had early realized the value of the geographical position which made their country the obvious centre of exchange for all Northern Europe. Trade had made the



DUTCH TRADE WITH THE EAST. The East India House at Amsterdam, 17th century

Low Countries rich in the Middle Ages when Bruges and Ypres and Ghent were among the busiest cities of the world. They had revolted against Spain to win back their independence, and by 1600 they had practically won. Flushed with success, they put all their energies into the opportunities for trade which the new sea-route to the East opened up. The circumstances of the time favoured them. England for the first half of the seventeenth century was absorbed in her constitutional

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struggle, France in the attempt to establish royal supremacy over Huguenots and nobles. In Holland trade was the first consideration, for the country's life depended on it. In 1580 when Spain, against whom Holland was then revolting, seized Portugal and tried to shut out the Dutch from all Portugal's former possession in the East, Holland fought : she set up trading stations along the West African coast, at Cape Colony, in India, and especially in what were then called the Spice Islands, round the Straits of Malacca. In this part of the world she was so successful that by about 1650 she had all the trade in her own hands ; she was so determined to keep what she had won, that in 1623 (the year in which the First Folio of Shakespeare appeared) she savagely put to death some Englishmen at Amboyna whom she suspected of trying to set up a trade for themselves. Successful in the East, she had got a footing in the West by the founding of New Amsterdam (New York) in 1622 : her sailors, early in the seventeenth century, had touched points of North-west Australia on their voyages to and from the Spice Islands ; in 1642 Abel Tasman had explored part of the south-east coast-line, and discovered New Zealand. Not without reason therefore she claimed to be the Mistress of the Seas.

This was a different sort of empire from that which France was trying to set up. Holland did not want land, she wanted trade. But the two empires were alike in this : both depended on sea-power—unless the settlements oversea were protected by the home country, they would wither away, like plants without water—and both had been founded with the idea of making the home country wealthy. But splendid and powerful as these two empires seemed, the future did not lie with them.

In 1620 there set sail from Southampton the *Mayflower* with a little party of 120 emigrants who wanted neither wealth nor power ; all they asked of America was a quiet home where they could worship God in their own way. The conception was a great one, the panacea, it might seem,

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for all the bitter disputes on the question of authority in religious matters which for a hundred years rent nations in pieces. Colonies might have been founded in the New World as 'safety-valves for religious discontent at home',¹ as Coligny, the heroic champion of the French Protestants, had wished to found a Huguenot settlement in Canada. Indeed it would seem that Charles I had some such idea in his mind; when in 1633 Massachusetts was accused before the Privy Council of not conforming to the Church of England, it was stated by certain Privy Councillors² that 'His Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the Church of England upon us [Massachusetts]; for it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to us; and it was creditably informed to the Council that this country would in time be very beneficial to England for masts, cordage, &c., if the Sound [i.e. the entrance to the Baltic] should be debarred.'³ But in practice the new settlements showed themselves, with one exception, less capable of rising to the ideal of religious toleration than the English Government. Penn, in the constitution for the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, laid down that 'all persons living in this province who acknowledge the one Almighty God to be the Creator and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no way be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice'. Otherwise the Puritans of New England were at least as intolerant as the English Church, not only to Anglicans and Roman Catholics but to other sections of Nonconformists, such as Baptists and Quakers.

¹ Egerton, *Origin and Growth of the British Dominions*, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, p. 89, quoting Winthrop, the contemporary historian of New England.

³ Something of the same idea is found in the charter granted by Charles I to Lord Baltimore, who had 'absolute liberty to carry over any from His Majesty's dominions willing to go'. In practice they were mainly Roman Catholics.

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The Pilgrim Fathers had obtained a promise from the King and from the Virginia Company, in whose lands they meant to settle, that if they lived peaceably, they should not be harmed. But the ship's master made a mistake in his course, and landed them at Cape Cod, considerably farther north. It was a fortunate mistake. There was a good harbour,



A QUAKER MEETING, 1698

a healthy climate and fertile land, and above all the Indians were inclined to be friendly. A few years before, they had captured and put to death some French sailors, who had warned them that they would not go unpunished. Then a great plague came upon the Indians, and they thought it was the God of the white men who was punishing them for their sin. So these new settlers were left in peace, and as they were far away from the settlement at Jamestown, they could arrange their lives as they wished.

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At first that life was a hard one ; the winters were bitterly cold, and their houses were roughly built of logs with little to make them comfortable. They had no cattle and not much corn. But they had a quiet mind and were not afraid of work. So they prospered, and others came out from England to join them, as the struggle between Puritans and Anglicans in England became more bitter and conformity with the practices of the Church of England was more strictly insisted upon.

New Plymouth, the first settlement, was not big enough, and others had to be founded. In Virginia, the land was owned either by the company, or by wealthy men who paid others to work it for them ; so there were big estates of many thousand acres. But the settlers round New Plymouth had been used in England to living in towns or on small farms which they worked themselves : they also wished to be able to meet together to worship God and to discuss matters of common interest. Little settlements sprang up, pretty close together, and mostly along the sea-coast ; they were self-contained, like miniature Commonwealths. Each 'township' chose two men to go to a General Assembly, where they settled disputes, made simple laws, and managed the affairs of the whole community.

When, in the Civil War, Parliament and Puritanism triumphed, the relations between England and the settlements oversea changed. The tide of migration began to ebb. The rulers in England were men who could understand the religious and political outlook of the New Englanders. Cromwell himself at one time had thought of seeking a new home in the West, Sir Henry Vane had been Governor of Massachusetts. There was coming and going across the Atlantic, and a realization on both sides of their common ties. The result was somewhat different from what might have been expected. Charles I had some idea that whether or no he might have to share the government of England with Parliament, the colonies would be under his personal control. The colonies' point of view had been that, provided they kept within the

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conditions laid down by their patent and maintained their allegiance, 'by our charter we have absolute power of government, for thereby we have power to make laws, to erect all sorts of magistracy, to govern and rule the people absolutely'.¹ In their domestic affairs at least they had acted in almost complete independence. But with Cromwell a definite stand was taken against these disruptive ideas. The authority of the home Parliament was asserted no less over the Puritan



Coin of MASSACHUSETTS, 1652

Massachusetts than over the Royalist Barbados. When the suggestion was made (1652) that Barbados should send representatives to the Parliament at Westminster, the Committee for Foreign Affairs approved the idea. In

this, as in other things, Cromwell foreshadowed something of the later conceptions of Empire.

If this new 'Empire' was to prosper, there must be freedom for its merchants to expand their trade, freedom for its subjects when they lived in foreign countries, and freedom from attack. These were the things that Cromwell tried to give it. The policy of Navigation Acts was revived,² providing that no goods were to be exported to the Colonies or imported thence into England, except in English or Colonial built ships. This was one of the causes which led to war with the Dutch,³

¹ Winthrop, *History of Massachusetts*, ii, 352.

² The Act was passed in Cromwell's absence, and war with a Protestant nation was contrary to his wishes.

³ There has been a tendency to exaggerate the Navigation Act of 1651, and historians have even ascribed the Dutch War to it. S. R. Gardiner, the chief modern authority on this period, not only states that 'the authors of the Navigation Act did not contemplate war', but says that the formerly accepted theory that the Act was the main cause of the Dutch war can be 'accepted only under the severest

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for so long as Holland was mistress of the seas, the new English Empire could not grow. The English Navy under Blake was better built, carried heavier guns, and could fire them three times to the Dutchman's once. The Dutchmen fought stubbornly and it was something of a draw, after several sea fights in the Channel. In 1654 the two nations made peace: it was not the end of the struggle, but the first round had been won.

Then Cromwell turned to Spain. More than a hundred years earlier Spain had occupied parts of the great land of South America, perhaps the richest country in the world. She not only would not allow English people to trade there, but she treated cruelly any Englishmen whom she caught. She had also settled on many of the islands in the Gulf of Mexico. All this vast tract was then known as 'The Spanish Main'. But these Spanish possessions were neighbours to the English settlements and it made a great deal of difference who owned them. They produced valuable commodities like sugar which the northern colonists wanted; they commanded the sea traffic in the gulf. While they were in the hands of Spain, they were a cause of anxiety to the English. But Spain's possessions were so vast that she could not adequately control them. She passed laws and issued regulations for them which were often excellent, but they were seldom carried out. Hence these islands became the haunt of pirates who were so strong that they carried on their business openly and plundered the ships of all peoples at their pleasure.

Cromwell, when the Dutch war was ended, determined to use his fleet to attack these islands. This 'Western Design', as it was called, was planned without declaring war on Spain,

limitations'. The year 1651 is one of the worst reported in our Parliamentary annals: we do not even know for certain who were the authors of the Act. That it is a great landmark is certain, but it did not deal a fatal blow to the Dutch carrying trade, which lasted more than a century longer; and obviously by a stroke of the pen British shipping could not have been adequate to take over all the Dutch were doing. But the Act accelerated its growth.

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and it was certainly high-handed. But Cromwell hated Spain. She had tried to stamp out Protestantism in blood ; and he was determined to make England the champion of Protestantism in Europe. In pursuance of this policy he



COMPANY PROMOTION. A satiric playing-card of the time of the South Sea Bubble

stopped the Duke of Savoy (who had much provocation) from putting to death the Protestants in the Vaudois. The fleet, under Penn—father of the famous Quaker who founded Pennsylvania—failed at Hispaniola but captured Jamaica, which has ever since belonged to England. This capture was very important : the power of the pirates now began to decline, though it was still some time before those seas were safe for peaceful merchantmen. But, more important still, this was the first time that the English *Government* had set up a colony. Hitherto, settle-

ments had been made by Trading Companies for their own profit or by men who fled from England to find in the wilderness that peace and freedom which they had not been allowed to enjoy in their own homes. So this capture of Jamaica in 1655 marks as it were the official beginning of the English Empire, and Cromwell must take his place with the greatest of those men who have helped to make it.

Of Charles II, who was restored to the throne in 1660, many hard things have been said ; but two things at least must be

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remembered to his credit. He was passionately fond of exercise, and he did all in his power to help forward the growth of the Empire. In this—though from different reasons—he continued Cromwell's work. The Dutch, he saw, were England's chief enemies in trade and on the seas. He made an alliance with his cousin, Louis XIV of France, that the latter should attack them by land while he attacked them by sea. There were many ups and downs in the struggle but in the end England won: Charles's brother James, Duke of York, (afterwards James II) captured New Amsterdam, which was renamed New York in his honour, and thus England had undisturbed possession of the whole coast-line from the St. Lawrence to Florida. By the Treaty of London (1674) Holland admitted England's claim to be supreme in the Atlantic and practically confined herself to her trade in the Far East.

England was now free to extend her settlements along the American coast. Charles was always short of money. When he wished to reward his courtiers he hit upon the bad plan of making them huge grants of land in America—which cost him nothing. The states in the north had been growing of their own accord; most of these grants were therefore made towards the south. So the distinction, that we saw before, between north and south was continued. In the north, there were small estates worked by the men who owned them; in the south, large estates, often, because the climate is very hot, worked by slaves. So in the south there grew up a class of men not unlike the English squires. They had left England because it suited them to do so and they still sent their children to England to be educated and looked on England as 'Home'. In the north the settlers were of a different type. They had left England because they had to; the country was less fertile, the climate less genial. Life had been harder, and it produced a harder race of men who had no particular cause to love the England that had turned them out.

But the work of Cromwell, in binding the colonies and

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England more closely together, had definitely established a new attitude in England towards the colonies. They were now considered a part of England : it was in her own interest to look after them. Charles set up in 1660 a Council for Trade and Plantations. Great statesmen like Shaftesbury and Clarendon, who ' used all the endeavours he could to bring His Majesty to have a great esteem for his Plantations ', thinkers like Locke, were members. Men who had been colonial governors and were experts in colonial matters, sat on it. Merchants were represented and the King himself was the chairman. This Council was intended to make a study of the plantations from every point of view, and to advise the Government in its policy. But unfortunately it could do nothing itself ; and the Government did not always take its advice. It did not, therefore, have as much influence as it might have had. But it was none the less an important thing that a body of men should exist whose business it was to think out the political and economic relations between England and her colonies, and this Council was really the parent of the present Colonial Office.

So far but little has been said of India, where the trade was mostly in the hands of the Dutch, who were steadily driving out the Portuguese, the first discoverers. The English East India Company, in spite of strong Dutch opposition and lack of support from James I, had continued to send fleets out to India. But it was after 1612 that it began to make real headway. In that year in Swally Roads, off Surat, Captain Best defeated a Portuguese fleet which was attempting to stop him from trading. The Indian Emperor Jehangir realized that there was another power in the west, besides the Portuguese and the Dutch, and he opened Surat to the English trade. Sir Thomas Roe was sent out as an ambassador to his Court in 1615, and England's prestige increased. But the East India Company still believed that it was possible to trade without actually possessing any territory. Men on the spot knew better ; the country was too distracted by wars between native princes, and the power of the Emperor was

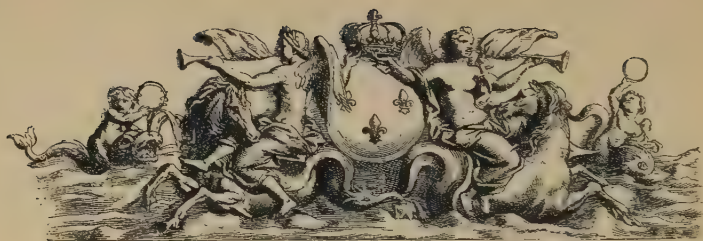
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too weak. It was therefore against the Company's wish that a narrow strip of land was acquired at Madras in 1639 on which Fort St. George was built ; and in the next year a trading-post was established on the Hooghly.

When Charles II married Katharine, a princess of the Portuguese Royal House, he received Bombay as part of her dowry. This gave England a magnificent port on the western coast, from which access was easy to the Emperor's Court. But England had still no idea of, or desire for, Empire. The East India Company was a trading company only. It would fight if needs be, in defence of its trade. Otherwise, its policy was to leave the Indians alone as much as possible. It was not till the Emperor's power went to pieces and the French began to try and win an Empire for themselves, that the Company found it must either go forward or go back. It chose to go forward ; and in the eighteenth century, little by little and against its will, the Company's power spread outwards from those three centres, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, till it found itself the chief power in India.



SURAT. The early factory, 1638



IV

FRENCH AND ENGLISH

UNTIL 1688 England's chief enemies had been Spain and Holland, because Spain controlled a great part of the New World, and Holland was attempting to keep in her own hands the trade with the Far East. But by 1688 these two powers were growing weaker: their dog-in-the-manger policy had defeated its own end. Thinking only of their own profit, and paying no attention to the welfare of their colonies, they had prevented their development and thus weakened their trade. Europe was then faced with the rising power of France. Richelieu, under Louis XIII, had broken the political power of the Huguenots, had crushed the nobles, and had given France strong frontiers everywhere except on the north-east. He had made the king supreme in France. Louis XIV, building on this foundation, attempted to make France supreme in Europe. We have seen how, in alliance with the English, he had attacked Holland. The allies had been so far successful that the Dutch trade and sea-power had been crippled; but on land the Dutch still held out. Then the other small States in the north of Europe began to be alarmed: if Holland were conquered, their turn would come next. They therefore formed an alliance with William, the Stadtholder—a sort of hereditary President—of Holland, against France. When James II was turned off the English throne, William, whose mother was a sister of Charles II

and who had married the daughter of James II, was invited by Parliament to become King of England. Since Louis XIV was helping James II—and his son after him—to win back the throne of England, England naturally joined the alliance against France.

But there was another reason why England became the enemy of France. Colbert's administrative genius succeeding to Richelieu's diplomatic skill had made France the commanding nation of the world. Entrenched behind well-fortified frontiers, with an efficient and economical system of administration, her people had grown wealthy by the establishment of manufactures and the development of commerce. Without a rival in Europe, abroad her traders enjoyed by treaty special privileges at the Court of the Sultan and in the Levant, and were active in India and the Far East. The Jesuit missionaries had obtained for her in China an influence which had promise of vast possibilities. In Africa and Madagascar she had founded colonies.

In America the English had spread right along the sea-coast. But behind their settlements there ran a range of mountains, the Alleghanies: these so far the English had not crossed. They were too busy farming to have much time for exploration. But the French fur-traders and missionaries naturally wandered farther afield. Colbert urged them on. The French governor in Canada, Count Frontenac, needed little urging. A famous warrior, brave, chivalrous and open-hearted, he loved fighting for its own sake: to him war was a noble adventure. He won the hearts of the gallant trappers and the Indian chiefs. Under his orders La Salle explored the Mississippi and finally D'Iberville, the hero of many raids in Hudson Bay and Newfoundland, carried the French arms right to the mouth of the river. A chain had been stretched behind the English from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. If the French could strengthen that chain, the English would be shut in between the Alleghanies and the sea. Then, as the French power grew, the English would be

driven out of America altogether, and France would be left supreme in the Old World and in the New.



COMTE DE FRONTENAC

In 1700 France seemed to have a great opportunity given her for carrying out her plan. The King of Spain died childless and left all his dominions to Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV. That would have given Philip not only Spain but all South America, except Brazil. At the same time James II died. He had been living as an exile at the French Court. Louis XIV, visiting him as he lay dying, promised that he would do all he could to make his son—whom we usually call 'The Old Pretender'—King of England. England at once took up the challenge: she was not going to allow France, without a struggle, to turn her out of the New World and to set up again in England that despotic government which she had, with so much difficulty, shaken off in 1688.

In these critical years, when England's life as well as her

future greatness were at stake, Marlborough, great as a soldier, great as a statesman, on those fields of Flanders where the fight for freedom has so often been fought and won, defeated the veterans of France, and shattered her dream of a European Empire. But it was not of conquests in Europe that England was thinking ; her future lay in the New World. That had been endangered and that had to be safeguarded. By the peace of Utrecht in 1713, the disputed lands in the north—Nova Scotia, Hudson Bay, and Newfoundland, the outworks of the Canadian citadel—became definitely British ; France was forbidden to extend her trade in the Spanish Main ; and in South America, by the Assiento Contract, England was given, for the first time, the right of supplying to the Spanish colonies 4,800 negro slaves annually. But the more her trade and Empire grew, the more important her sea-power became. The Navy would want stations scattered over the world, where in case of war ships could refit in safety, and obtain food and water. England therefore obtained Gibraltar and Minorca and the exclusion of the French from the island of St. Christopher.

England had taken a great step forward ; but the war had been an exhausting one and she needed a period of quiet to recover herself and to develop the markets which she had won. From 1721 to 1742 Walpole was the head of the government in England, and he was above all things a business man. The party in the country which supported him was largely made up of traders ; and he did all he could to make trade prosper. He avoided wars ; he made taxes as light and as little inconvenient as possible ; he reduced the duties on Colonial produce ; and he took the House of Commons into partnership, giving them a far greater say in the government of the country than they had had before. So England prospered and grew rich—perhaps too rich ; for she began to think that money was the only thing that mattered, and she grew proud : and pride goes before a fall.

While all eyes, in England and in France, had been fixed on

the struggle that was taking place in America, events had been occurring in India which brought it into equal prominence. The great Akbar (1542-1605) had realized that if the Mughal Empire was to stand, it must be supported by Hindu and Muhammadan alike.

I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds,
I let men worship as they will, I reap
No revenue from the field of unbelief.
I cull from every faith and race the best
And bravest soul for counsellor and friend.

(Tennyson, *Akbar's Dream.*)

This statesmanlike policy of toleration Aurangzeb (1659-1707) had reversed ; ' this religious bigot of an Emperor is on a project to bring them all over to his faith ', and he had imposed a poll-tax on unbelievers. This had aroused against him the hostility of the warlike Hindu Mahrattas, who under the great Sivaji began that career of conquest which, till their defeat by the Afghans at Panipat in 1761, seemed likely to make them the chief power in India. The Italian traveller, Careri, who visited the Emperor in 1695, when he was in the midst of his campaigns in the Deccan, has left us an interesting picture of him. He was of low stature, white bearded, and bowed with age. His face, olive in complexion, was pleasant and smiling, and he read and personally endorsed the petitions laid before him. He was dressed in plain white muslin, and wore a turban ornamented with a single large emerald. The army was huge—the camp, with its 100,000 foot, 60,000 horse, 50,000 camels, and 3,000 elephants, was nearly thirty miles in circumference ; but it was unwieldy, and there was no idea of discipline. It was the same throughout the whole Empire—outwardly an imposing and magnificent spectacle, beneath the surface corruption, inefficiency, dissolution. Aurangzeb was the last great Mughal Emperor. After his death in 1707 his Empire rapidly fell to pieces and during ' The Great Anarchy ' of the next hundred years the native princes, shaking off their obedience which the Emperor at Delhi was

not strong enough to enforce, fought the one with the other, each trying to win as much power as he could for himself. India is not one nation, but many : these had only been held together by the military power of the Emperor, and that had gone. Then came the invasion in 1739 of Nadir Shah of Persia to make the ruin complete.

When he had returned home, laden with plunder, India was left defenceless, at the mercy of any man strong enough to seize her.

India's weakness was France's opportunity. Louis XIV's vision of colonial empire had lain in the New World. But the encouragement given to trade had had its effect in the East also. A French East India Company was started, and it built itself fortified posts at Pondicherry, at Chandernagore, and at Mahé. It also possessed, in the Île de France (Mauritius) a very useful



AURANGZEB

base for a fleet. In 1741 Dupleix was made Governor-General of Pondicherry with command of all French interests in India. He had already been thirty years in India, in the Company's service, and was thoroughly familiar with the policies of the native princes. He saw India's weakness and the use which might be made of it. Why should not France take a part in native politics? A small number of French troops, well armed and well disciplined, would be more than a match for the badly trained native armies, however large. These French troops

could be supported by native troops, trained in the French method of fighting, and led by French officers. Thus one prince could be played off against another and France would be supreme over all. In this way, not only would she get all the trade of the East into her own hands, but she would be able to set up a rich and splendid Empire in India, compared with which the rule over a few thousand savage Indians in the forests and swamps of America would pale into insignificance.

It was a dazzling vision. Dupleix set to work to make it a reality. He made friends among the Indian princes as the French, with their ready sympathy, their understanding, and their tact, know so well how to do ; he built forts : he drilled troops. But two things he forgot. For the success of his plan it was essential that he should have support from home—and already in 1743 the Directors of the Company in France, alarmed at these great undertakings which seemed to promise so little immediate return in dividends, had ordered him not to spend so much money—and it was vital that he should have command of the sea, for otherwise, the support from home could never reach him. This La Bourdonnais, the French admiral in the East, understood. He too, like Dupleix, had a vision of a French Empire in India. But the two men were jealous of each other, and could not work together. The splendid vision became a still more splendid reality—but in the hands of England and not of France.

Walpole had by this time been Prime Minister for nearly twenty years. His chief object had been to prevent the Stuarts from regaining the English throne. To this end he had encouraged trade, that England might be prosperous and contented with her new kings ; he had avoided wars, especially a war with France, because France would help the Jacobites. But England's trade was growing and Englishmen would not be satisfied with the small share in South American trade that the Treaty of Utrecht allowed them. Ships tried to dodge the Spanish coastguards ; if they

were stopped, they fought. Neither side treated each other very gently, and after all, England was entirely in the wrong. Spain protested; but the trade was too profitable and it still went on. Pitt and his followers in Parliament supported the traders. If England, they said, was going to be the great nation they meant to make her, it would be thanks to her trade. Everything that hindered its growth



LA BOUTILLIERE



LA BOUTILLIERE

French explorations in India

must be swept out of the way. If Spain would not allow Englishmen to trade, she must be forced to do so, by war if necessary. If war with Spain meant war with France—and the two countries were closely allied—they would be prepared to run the risk. Walpole had done his work so well that England was strong enough to stand such a war—strong enough even to stand a rising to restore the Stuarts, which would be one of the first things France would try to bring about. In 1738 the Opposition judged that their opportunity had come; they moved for a list of complaints in connexion with the Spaniards' exercise of the right of search in South American

waters, and witnesses were examined. Seven years previously Captain Jenkins of the *Rebecca* had been captured by the Spanish *Guarda Costas*, who had used him 'in a most barbarous inhuman fashion, cutting off one of his ears'. He was summoned to retell his story at the bar of the House. At its close he was asked what he had said when the Spaniards so ill-treated him. 'I commended my soul to God and my cause to my country,' was the reply. Pulteney, when he put the epigram into the rough sea captain's mouth, had judged rightly the temper of the country. Anger against Spain grew. When the public knew that Walpole was arranging a convention with Spain by which she did not abandon the right of search, anger grew to white heat. There was a flood of lampoons, caricatures, petitions. Walpole, do what he could, could not withstand the popular outcry, and the war began.

This was the start of the long struggle with France which, with short intervals of peace, lasted down to 1815—the struggle for an overseas empire. During all these wars, with one exception—the American War of Independence—France was fighting another enemy on the Continent at the same time. And the American war England lost. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, which ended the war against Spain and France, was only a breathing space: both sides had won something and lost something, and at the peace they exchanged. But even during the peace, the struggle in America and in India went on—it was too bitter and too vital to stop. At the Peace of Paris, which ended the Seven Years War in 1763, England's success in America was complete, and in India nearly so. After that, France was trying to win back again what she had lost, and the struggle more and more centred on Europe.

In America during the first period of the conflict, down to 1748, with one exception, the capture of Louisburg, little happened except skirmishes. Between the French and English settlements lay a great stretch of hilly country,

densely wooded. There was practically only one way through, by the valleys of the Hudson and Richelieu rivers, connected by Lake Champlain. This route was strongly guarded by forts—Crown Point for the French, Fort William Henry and Fort Edward for the English. There was a way round, by Lakes Ontario and Erie, to the Ohio : here also forts had been built by the French, and one—Oswego, their only outpost—



by the English. But to meet this systematic advance by the French there was no co-operation among the colonies. The only connecting link between them was their allegiance to the King: otherwise they each went their own way and were interested only in the concerns of their own district. The border States in New England realized the danger: Indians and French would leap without warning from the forest upon some isolated settlement, burn it to the ground, and vanish back into the forest as suddenly as they had come. In those districts men worked upon their farms with loaded muskets lying on the ground beside them. The other colonies, far back from the danger-zone, were indifferent.

As early as 1740 some English pioneers had found their way over the Alleghanies to the Ohio and had begun to lay claim to the country. But the French also claimed it, though they had never occupied it. The Governor of Canada, La Galissonière, alarmed at the increasing number of the English settlers in the Ohio valley, sent an officer with a number of leaden plates, inscribed 'Renewal of possession heretofore



GENERAL BRADDOCK

taken of the River Ohio, of all streams that fall into it, and all lands on both sides to the source of the aforesaid streams, as the preceding Kings of France have enjoyed it'. These were to be buried at various points on his journey. The Marquess Duquesne, who became Governor in 1752, determined to make the French claim an effective one; he built Presqu'île on the shore of Lake Erie, and Fort Le Bœuf, to command the route to the Ohio. Dinwiddie, the

governor of Virginia, sent George Washington (then but twenty-one years of age) formally to demand the French withdrawal; on receiving a courteous but unsatisfactory reply, Dinwiddie obtained a vote from the Virginian assembly that Washington should be sent with a force to build a fort on the Ohio where Pittsburg now stands. Towards the expense of this, North Carolina sent £12,000. But the French captured the fort, which they renamed Fort Duquesne, and Washington was compelled to retire. If the French could keep it, English power in America was doomed. Persuaded of the danger the English Government sent out General Braddock with two regiments to protect the frontier. Previously deputies

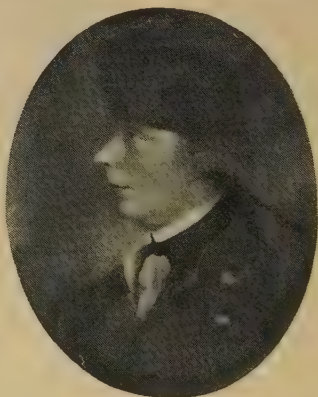
from the different colonies had met at Albany to discuss a general scheme of defence, and also a proposal of Benjamin Franklin's that all the colonies should be united in one federal government under the Crown. This suggestion came to nothing; both the Crown and the colonies feared it would make the other too strong. But on Braddock's arrival a council was held on the Potomac at which Virginia, North Carolina, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and New England were represented. A fourfold advance against the French forts was decided upon; to Braddock fell the task of capturing Fort Duquesne. But the English regulars, with their rigid formation and heavy kit, were no use for forest fighting. Surrounded in the dense forest by Indians whom they never saw, they stood helpless and, covering their faces with their hands, were mown down by a fire to which they could make no return. With this failure the plan broke down. The Indians flocked to the winning side: the French pressed their advantage. Oswego and Fort William Henry were captured, and the fortress of Ticonderoga, impregnable save to artillery, was built. One more effort, and the valley of the Hudson would be won; the northern colonies would be separated from the southern, and the English lands would lie at France's mercy.

But in 1757 Pitt took control in England: the war became national instead of local. The English, with adequate forces and competent commanders, took the offensive. Forbes in 1758 forced the Alleghanies and occupied Fort Duquesne—renamed Pittsburg in honour of the directing genius of the war. Amherst and Wolfe captured Louisburg, Oswego was recovered, and the French line cut. The next year was to see the final assault that was to deliver the English colonies from all further danger of French attack. A great fleet under Admiral Saunders was prepared in England to attack Quebec, laid open by the capture of Louisburg; with it were to co-operate one force up the Hudson, and another from Lake Ontario, that was to take Quebec in the rear. But these

two forces were delayed and Wolfe was left to win his fame alone. That rocky citadel, defended by steep slopes on the south-west, and by the marshy lands round the River Charles on the east, for long resisted all his efforts. His men were sick, winter was approaching : he risked all upon a last hope. One night, under cover of darkness, he landed half his troops in a small cove at the foot of the slope. Up this in the darkness Wolfe's men forced their way. Day broke : and in the morning light Montcalm saw the English infantry



LORD AMHERST



WOLFE

English aspirations in Canada

drawn up upon the plateau of the Heights of Abraham. At the same moment an attack began across the Charles river. Taken in front and rear the French fought valiantly but in vain. Montcalm and Wolfe both fell, mortally wounded. The French were swept back to their citadel, which four days later surrendered. The main French army still kept the field round Montreal ; but Amherst gained command of Lake Ontario and co-operated with Murray in an attack upon the city, which in August 1760 surrendered unconditionally. The English colonies were delivered and a hundred ruined settlements were avenged. On the Heights of Abraham stands a plain granite pillar, inscribed 'Aux Braves' :



QUEBEC IN 1761. View of the Cathedral, Jesuit College, and Recollet Friars Church

there the vision of a French Empire in America passed away.¹

Events in India followed a similar course. Though La Bourdonnais captured Madras in 1746, it had been exchanged for Louisburg at Aix-la-Chapelle. Over the terms of its surrender La Bourdonnais quarrelled with Dupleix and sailed for France, where he was rewarded by being sent to the Bastille. It was not till two years later that the opportunity for which Dupleix had been waiting, arrived. The Nizam of Haidarabad died in 1748, leaving the succession in dispute. Dupleix interfered and got his own candidate placed upon the throne. As the Nizam was overlord of the Carnatic, French influence triumphed there also ; to render it secure, a French force under the Marquis de Bussy was stationed at the Nizam's court. The English East India Company, alarmed at the spread of French influence, saw that they must either follow the French example and take part in native politics or be prepared to surrender their trade. Taking the part of the unsuccessful candidate, Clive captured Arcot in 1751 and by its defence against great odds showed India that the English, if they were driven to it, could beat the French at their own game. Dupleix at once took steps to retrieve the disaster ; but as he was arranging his plans with Bussy, he was suddenly recalled to France, where the Directors were frightened at a policy of which they were too short-sighted to foresee the possible outcome. Ten years later he died, forgotten and in poverty, ' having sacrificed ', as he says in his Memoirs, ' his youth, his fortune, and his life in loading his nation with honour and riches in Asia '. To-day his bust stands at Calcutta along with those of Clive, Hastings, and Wellesley, as one of the makers of India. The English then took the place of the French in the Carnatic,

¹ In 1760 there were 1,250,000 British in North America and less than 80,000 French. The rapidly increasing British population would probably have given the ultimate possession of North America to the Anglo-Saxon.

though Bussy still remained at Haidarabad. Fortunately for England Lally, the officer whom France sent out to India on the outbreak of the Seven Years War, promptly quarrelled with Bussy, whom he withdrew from Haidarabad; and the Nizam in disgust entered into an alliance with the English. Lally was unable to capture Madras, owing to the English command of the sea, and by his final defeat at Wandewash



in 1760, Pondicherry and Mahé fell into English hands. Thus throughout all these territories, once the chief centre of French power, English influence remained supreme.

In Bengal the French had never been strong: they possessed one settlement there, Chandernagore, but it was not the equal of Calcutta. But in 1756 the new ruler, the Nawab Suraj-ud-Dowlah, young, foolish and passionate, quarrelled with the English over a relative who had fled to them for refuge. He brought up an army, captured Calcutta, which was practically unfortified, and forced his prisoners into a tiny guardroom—the 'Black Hole' of infamous memory—where

amid the horrors of a stifling Indian night all but twenty-three of them perished. Clive had just arrived from England at Madras; promptly he sailed with his troops for Calcutta, which he recaptured almost without a blow, and compelled the Nawab to accept a treaty by which full reparation was to be made for the attack upon Calcutta. But the Nawab had no intention of carrying out the treaty if he could help it and was in close communication with the French. Clive therefore attacked and captured Chandernagore, to prevent French co-operation with the Nawab. Proposals were then made to Clive by Mir Jafir, the Nawab's commander-in-chief, that the English should give their aid in a plan to depose the Nawab. Besides his obvious hostility to us, another reason to undertake this affair was 'the universal hatred of all sorts and conditions of men to Suraj-ud-Dowlah, the affection of his army alienated from him by his ill-usage of the officers, and a revolution so generally wished for that it is probable it would be attempted (and perhaps successfully) even without our assistance, in which case it would have availed us little, whereas by countenancing the confederacy and supporting it with our whole force we might make our own terms'.¹

At Plassey, a hundred miles north of Calcutta, the armies met. Making light of odds of nearly 20 to 1 against him Clive swept away the forces of the Nawab and secured British supremacy in Bengal. Mir Jafir was placed upon the throne with the promise that the English would 'attend solely to commerce, which was our whole aim in these parts'.

The Peace of Paris, which ended the war in 1763, was the high-water mark of England's first Colonial Empire. Supreme in Canada, her settlements in America could dwell in peace; for France surrendered Louisiana to Spain in compensation for Florida which was given to England. The possession of half the West Indian Islands gave her control of trade in the Gulf of Mexico. In India there was no European power that

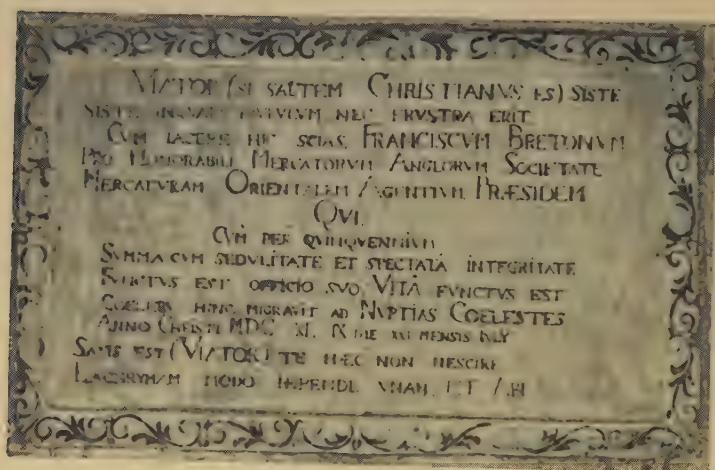
¹ Letter from the Select Committee, Calcutta, to the Secret Committee, London, July 1757.

could dispute with her. All this she owed to Pitt the Elder. Wolfe and Clive were great commanders but his was the master-mind behind the whole. He saw that it was not a struggle for a strip of land here, or for a trading post there, but for Empire, everywhere or nowhere. The roots of the French power must be cut. To that end, he gave lavish help to Frederick of Prussia, who was fighting France in Europe; he planned campaigns, he selected generals, inspiring them with his own courage and determination. But above all, he taught England the use of the sea. Hawke and Boscawen kept watch and ward over the French ports, from which her fleet only issued to its destruction at Lagos and Quiberon Bay. Thus reinforcements which might have turned the scale in Canada or in India, could seldom sail, while the English went to and fro at their pleasure. If Cromwell was the first to see a vision of Empire, Pitt was the first to realize it. Nor was his ideal an unworthy one. It was to be a free Empire, of which the American colonist was to be as fully a citizen as any dweller in the British Isles.

The collapse of the French power in Canada and India left England in the strange position of owning an Empire at which she had not aimed. To defeat the French plan of driving out the English from America, she had had to conquer Canada; since the French had tried to make themselves the predominant power in the Carnatic and Bengal, she had been compelled to do the same, to protect her trade. Now that she had won, the first thing she had to do was to set her house in order.

Affairs in India were very unsatisfactory. In Bengal the English after Plassey were the real masters, though the Nawab had all the responsibility of ruling. When he tried to take a line of his own and abolish the exemption from trade-duties which the Company's servants had extended to their private trade, he was driven from the throne and, in alliance with the Mughal and the Nawab of Oudh, defeated at Buxar (1764). Who then was to govern Bengal? Fortunately at this moment

Clive returned to India and took control. The Mughal, as the price of his defeat, gave to the Company those taxes in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which should have been paid to himself. This was very profitable for the Company, but it made the confusion worse than ever ; for the Company handed over the collection of the revenue to Indian officials who got



Inscription on the tomb of FRANCIS BRETON (a President of the English Factory, died 1649) in the English cemetery at Surat

as much out of the people as they could, and paid the Company as little as possible. The Nawab disclaimed responsibility and washed his hands of the whole business. Clive could not at the time alter the system, which was the root of the evil ; but what he could do, he did. The salaries and conditions of service in the company are suggestive of the methods of administration employed. A writer or clerk served five years at £10 a year, being further obliged to give a bond of £500 for good behaviour. When promoted to be a Factor his salary was raised to £20—and the bond increased to £1,000. The President received £500 a year, half of which was ' reserved '

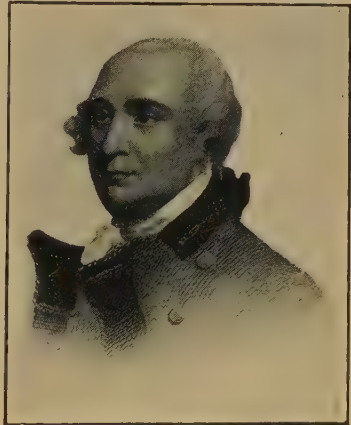
to be paid when he returned home. He had to enter into a bond for £5,000. Whence then came the 'Nabobs' of eighteenth-century England? 'I shall only say that such a scene of anarchy, confusion, bribery, corruption, and extortion was never seen or heard of in any country but Bengal, nor such and so many fortunes acquired in so unjust rapacious a manner. [The Company's servants] have levied contributions from every man of power and consequence . . . and committed actions which make the name of the English to stink in the nostrils of a Hindu or Mussulman. . . . They have turned out and put in the officers of government at pleasure and made every one pay for their preferment.'¹ All this Clive stopped; officials were paid a fair salary and were not allowed to take any present from a native under any circumstances or to do any trade on their own account. What Clive could not do, Parliament undertook. Questions of government, they said, ought not to be in the hands of a trading company. The object of a trading company is to make money; the object of a government is to look after the welfare of the people. These two objects would often clash, as was evidenced by the rapid impoverishment of Bengal. They therefore determined to restrict the company to trading operations, though it was only gradually that this policy was put into effect. A beginning was made by the Regulating Act of 1773, which formed the first step towards a Constitution for India. This gave to Parliament the right to control all the governmental work of the Company. The Governor of Bengal was given power over the governors of Bombay and Madras, and he was advised by a Council appointed by Parliament; to protect the natives against oppression a new Supreme Court of Law was set up. Clive laid the foundation of England's political power in India: the Regulating Act settled that that power was to be exercised under the control of the English Parliament. Warren Hastings, who had been Resident at Kazimbazar and whose conduct

¹ Clive, in Malcolm's *Life of Clive*, ii. 379.

had been in striking contrast to that of most of the Company's servants, was made the first Governor-General to put the system into practice.

Having provided for India, Parliament next turned its attention to Canada. Up to this time it had been, naturally enough, more or less under military rule. As it turned out, this was fortunate, for men from New England, thinking that the only thing to do with a conquered country is to make as much money out of it as possible, flocked in expecting to be able to do as they liked. But Murray and Carleton, the first two governors, promptly showed them their mistake. Strong, upright, and farseeing, they so governed that the French Canadians found themselves as well off under the new Government as under the old. Neither themselves nor their property were harmed, and they were allowed to worship as they liked. The Quebec Act of 1774, which laid down the lines for the future Government of Canada, continued the same principles. The idea in the mind of Parliament was this: Canada was less fertile (as was then thought) than the land south of the St. Lawrence; a very large part of the country that had been explored was covered with forest; the climate was much colder and more severe. Surely then, if people were going out to settle in America, they would choose to live among their own folk in the more genial country to the south, not among Frenchmen in the bleaker country to the north. Canada therefore would probably always be inhabited by the descendants of the French who were there then, a race of farmers, trappers, and backwoodsmen. The more contented they were made the less likely they would be to make any attempt to disturb the English settlers in the south. Therefore the French Canadians were allowed to retain their own civil law, though in criminal cases the English law was to be in force. But it was considered that it was 'at present inexpedient to call an Assembly'; instead, a Council was set up, with power to make ordinances for the province. This course was taken largely on Carleton's advice. It aroused

much opposition among the English minority, and in the American Colonies was regarded with deep suspicion as a plot against popular liberties. It has also been criticized on the ground that it encouraged, instead of repressing, a separate French nationality. But the recognition of French law was deliberately favoured by Carleton, on the ground that it would conciliate the French and tend to make them loyal British subjects; and an attempt to crush French national feeling would have created much disaffection and would probably have been unsuccessful in the end. Had an assembly been set up it would have meant the dominance of a minority of four hundred Protestants over a Roman Catholic population of seventy thousand—for it was on the whole taken for granted that the Assembly would be a Protestant one, and that the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics holding office would apply. The Quebec Act was the result of much careful consideration; but it was far from being a complete solution. Carleton complained bitterly of the type of officials sent out, men who had failed in business, ignorant of the French language and the French civil law, who expected to turn to their own profit the administration of justice. 'We have done nothing', he wrote, 'to gain one man in the province by making it his private interest to remain the King's subject.'



SIR GUY CARLETON

Elsewhere in America things had not gone smoothly. After the triumphs of the Seven Years War had come a reaction. England realized that victories cost money and that she had

acquired, along with Canada and India, an enormous National Debt. The Colonies, freed from the French danger, remembered old grievances that wanted settling. Both sides began to be rather critical of each other. Even though the French had been conquered, the country was very unsettled; an army would be needed for police work, especially against the Indians, and England proposed that America should contribute towards the expense of that army's upkeep. There were customs duties, paid on goods going in and out of the country. These had not been producing as much as they ought to have done, because there had been a great deal of smuggling. England said that this must stop. All this was fair enough, in its way. But America wanted to know where *she* came in; it always seemed to be England first and America second, and she did not see why her interests should not be considered as much as England's. The liberties won in the Civil War belonged as much to Americans as to Englishmen; the ancestors of both had fought for them, and an Englishman did not cease to have the rights of an Englishman merely because he crossed the Atlantic. It had been a principle of English law since the sixteenth century, that an Englishman carried with him as much English law as was appropriate to the circumstances in which he found himself. It is true that the relationship between England and the Colonies had been considered and a plan drawn up by Chatham for colonial representation in an Imperial Parliament. This plan had Grenville's support but was objected to by Burke on the very practical ground that distance would render it unworkable. The Colonists on their part had rejected a very moderate form of Federation in 1754; this, if carried, would have provided a body representative of all America which would have commanded the respect of the English Parliament. A great deal of the trouble was due to the mishandling of the situation and to a general disposition to look upon the Colonies as 'Plantations'.

The Colonies themselves felt that they had become something very different. Originally the Government in

England had left them pretty much alone to manage their own affairs—especially in the northern settlements of New England, formed by men who wished to have as little to do with England as they could. They had done what Englishmen would naturally do in the circumstances, and formed ‘Assemblies’ of representatives from the various villages in each colony. These Assemblies had settled disputes and made what rules or laws were necessary. After Cromwell’s time when trade was becoming more important and the value of colonies to England was recognized, laws were passed (the Navigation Act, 1660, and the Staple Act, 1663) to regulate colonial trade, with officials in each colony, appointed by the Treasury in England, to collect the customs duties. The chief way in which these laws might be broken was by smuggling. Since that was a matter in which ships and sailors were concerned, an Admiralty Court was set up to deal with it, under the English Admiralty. For the actual ruling of the Colony there was a Governor, appointed by the King ; he was helped by a Council of those men in the Colony whose advice he thought would be valuable, and by the Assembly of representatives of the people. But the Governor had nothing to do with the officials who collected the customs nor with the Admiralty Court—and this made his power weaker. Then it was the Assembly who provided all the money ; they decided what taxes had to be collected (though they had nothing to do with customs duties) ; they paid the officials’ salaries (including the Governor’s) ; they decided how much money was to be spent on any particular object ; and they appointed the Treasurer who looked after the money. Therefore, whatever Parliament in England thought about it, this Assembly had more power in the Colony than any other authority. The officials appointed from England were often changing and were only concerned with their own particular department ; but the Assembly was always on the spot, knew all about colonial affairs and concerned itself with every side of government. Besides, it was a popular Assembly really representing the people, which the English Parliament never

did till the middle of the nineteenth century. But influential though this Assembly was it had no executive power, because it could not appoint its own ministers or officials. All it could do was to prevent the carrying out of measures of which it did not approve. This made the position of the governor very difficult : he appointed the officials, he decided what was to be done ; but he had to get the necessary money from the Assembly, who often refused it. There were also difficulties over trade. We shall see more about these in detail in the next chapter, but what they really amounted to was this. England thought that the Colonies existed for the benefit of England's trade—to supply her with the raw material she needed, and to buy her manufactured goods. The Colonies had therefore been forbidden to set up manufactures. In the main, the system had worked pretty well ; nobody wishes to be a ' hand ' in a factory when he can have as much land as he wants for the asking and can be his own master. But as the land along the coast began to be more occupied, and the population increased, people desired to start manufacturing things for their own use : in any case, the fact that they were not allowed to do so, annoyed them.

It ought not to have been impossible to get over these difficulties if only the English Parliament had realized America's point of view and had frankly recognized the Americans as equals and not inferiors. Certain Americans, such as Franklin and Pownall, wanted some sort of Imperial Federation—a free Empire in which every part would have had some share in the government of the whole, though England from her wealth and her importance would naturally have had the chief share.¹ With very few exceptions, chiefly in the north, the Colonies did not want to break away from England : even when war broke out, nearly two-thirds of the Colonists were at least passively loyal to England.² But

¹ This had originally been the ideal of the Council for Trade and Plantations.

² Out of a population of 2,500,000, over one-half were neutral, and at least 250,000 actively loyal.

England could not see how much she would gain by a free and willing alliance. It was not the amount of the new taxes but the way in which they were going to be imposed, that roused America's anger ; at the very time when they felt they had a right to claim greater freedom, the English Parliament was trying to lessen that freedom and put taxes on them, about which they had never been consulted. They knew they could never send representatives to the English Parliament : they never wanted to. England was much too far away. The New York Congress in 1765 passed the resolution ' that the people of these Colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great Britain '. ' No taxation without representation ' was a party cry, worked up by a few agitators, to stiffen the Colonists' resistance. What they did claim was the right to raise, in whatever way they liked, that sum of money which their Assemblies and the English Parliament might decide was suitable and necessary ; otherwise they would be not citizens but slaves.¹ Pitt and many of the more far-sighted men in England agreed with them.² Unfortunately Parliament as a whole did not ; and the Government thought by penal legislation to put an end to such defiance of the law as had been shown in the persecution of Royalists or in the organized attack upon the East India Company's ships in Boston Harbour. It therefore carried four measures :

1. Boston Harbour was to be closed and the Government transferred to Salem.
2. The Charter of Massachusetts was cancelled.

¹ Grenville had explained the idea of the Stamp Act a year previously, to allow the Colonies, if they wished, to make alternative suggestions.

² Cf. Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America. ' Lastly, we have no sort of *experience* in favour of force as an instrument in the rule of our colonies. Their growth and their utility has been owing to methods altogether different. Our ancient indulgence has been said to be pursued to a fault. It may be so. But we know, if feeling is evidence, that our fault was more tolerable than our attempt to amend it ; and our sin far more salutary than our penitence.'

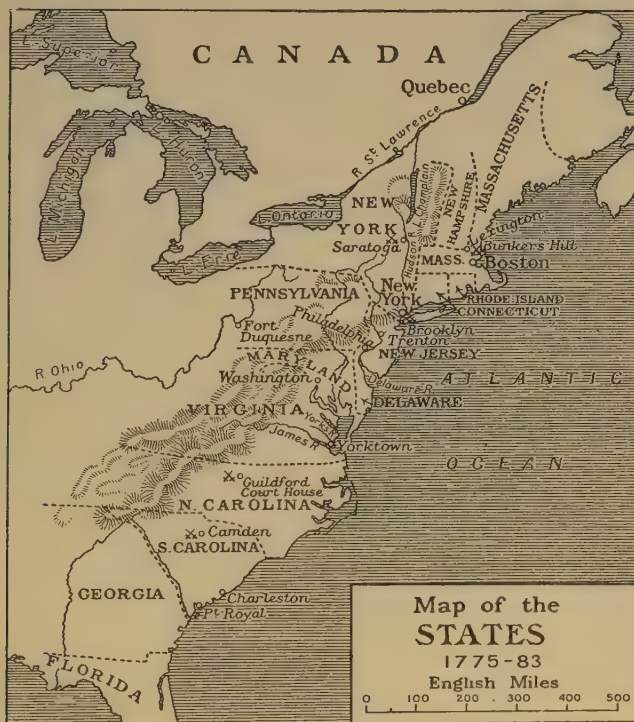
3. Trials for capital offences in Massachusetts could be transferred to England.
4. Arrangements were made for the quartering of troops in America.

But no attempt was made to strengthen the executive in America, nor any suggestion held out that once law and order were restored, the grievances of the Colonists would be sympathetically considered. By attempting merely to crush, it consolidated the resistance of the Colonies and the war broke out.

The first thing the Americans had to do was to create a central body that could look after *American* affairs ; so far all the Colonies were quite separate one from the other, and there was often a good deal of jealousy between them, as had been shown by the failure of the Albany Congress in 1754 to arrange any form of Union. During the few years before the outbreak of the war, Committees of ' Patriots ' had sprung up in each Colony to direct the resistance to England—goods were not to be sent to England nor manufactures to be received from her. All good patriots wore rough homespun clothes rather than buy the fine cloth and linen from England. In 1774 it was arranged for representatives from all the Colonies to meet together at Philadelphia : this ' Congress ' spoke for all the Colonies together. Preparations were made for defence, and Washington was appointed Commander-in-chief ; but all hope of reconciliation had not yet been given up. A petition was sent to the King, and a great effort was made by the friends of America in England to get Parliament to change its policy. It was in vain : Parliament refused to consider the petition, and the King spoke of the ' desperate conspiracy ' in America.¹ So Congress took the final step : the American ports were thrown open to the trade of the

¹ In 1782 Lord North told the King he wished to get rid of a certain minister who refused to agree to any terms of peace which did not insist on the King's absolute sovereignty. ' Then ', said the King, ' you must go further ; you must remove *me*.'

world ; a representative was sent to the French Government on behalf of the ' American people ', and a committee of five appointed to draw up a Declaration. Three of the most prominent men in this Committee were Adams and Franklin—both men of sober judgement and strong principle, who had



striven their hardest for a reconciliation with England—and Jefferson, a brilliant writer, young, impetuous, and a strong supporter of independence. On the 4th of July 1776 the Declaration of Independence was formally adopted by Congress and a new nation—the United States—came into existence.¹

¹ Legally the ' United States ' start in 1787, the year of the Federal Constitution.

But the war had still to be won ; the Colonists had to make good their words by actions. Their difficulties were many. A large number of people, especially round New York and in the south, sided with England ; it was difficult to get the various States to work together ; and they had no navy. It was, therefore, very important to get the help of France : Franklin, the man they sent, was very popular at the French Court. But though France was very ready to take her revenge on England for her defeat in the Seven Years War, she wanted to make sure that America had a good chance of winning before she joined her. At first, therefore, she only sent secret help : among the volunteers who went out was the Marquis de Lafayette, who not only did good service in the fighting, but by his enthusiasm made the cause of America very popular in France.¹

There were strong English forces in Canada ; if these were used against the Americans their troops in the north would be between two fires. So in 1775 an expedition was sent under Montgomery to attack Quebec. It was expected by the Americans that the French in Canada would rise to help them. But the French seigneurs were quite contented as they were ; England had treated them generously, and they had not forgotten what the men of New England had tried to do, directly Canada had been conquered in 1760. So the expedition was a failure. Things went badly for the Americans in other parts of the north, as English sea-power began to tell and reinforcements arrived from Great Britain. But in 1777 the English made an attempt to cut off New England from the less hostile districts of the south and west, by sending a force down the Hudson from Canada under Burgoyne. Trapped in the forests, he was attacked on the flank by troops accustomed to forest fighting, and had to surrender with all his men at Saratoga. It was a decisive victory. The north was practically lost to

¹ The help given by France on this occasion has never been forgotten by America, and it was one of the reasons which brought America into the late war against Germany.

England : France, Spain, and Holland openly joined the war against her. English command of the sea was no longer unquestioned. The chief fighting now took place in the south, where a larger part of the people were friendly to England. Cornwallis, the English General, had won there a series of victories, and in 1781 he took up his position at Yorktown to wait for the reinforcements which he expected Clinton would send him by sea from New York. But instead of Clinton he found the French fleet. With Washington in front and the French fleet behind, he had to surrender ; and with his surrender the war practically ended. At first sight, it appears as if the French had done little to help America. In the West Indies, to which they directed most of their attention, they were mostly unsuccessful, and they were defeated by Rodney off Martinique in 1782. Yorktown was the only event in which they took a really important part. But without France America could not have won as she did. Nor was this only because of the supplies sent by France. After her entry into the war England could no longer give the whole of her attention to America : she felt she had the world against her. She was no longer fighting for freedom ; many of her own statesmen—Pitt, Burke, Fox—told her so, and in her heart she believed it. In any case, what good would victory do her ? She could not hold America, if the people of America hated her. The thought of this took the heart out of her armies and their commanders ; and the people in England were half ashamed of the war. They could not cheer for ‘ Wilkes and Liberty ’ at home, and rejoice in the defeat of Washington fighting for liberty in America. Therefore, at the peace of Versailles, 1783, the complete independence of the United States was recognized ; and England could take a nobler revenge on France for the part that she had played, in the thought that it was the American War of Independence which was one of the chief causes of the French Revolution. The French peasant had ten times more reason to rebel than had the Americans ; the French king had

helped the Americans, and he must think their cause a just one. The French officers in the American army, Lafayette above all, came back full of enthusiasm for equality and freedom. So the torch of Liberty was handed on from America to France; from that time starts the struggle for freedom among the people of the West, and in that struggle England took the part that her traditions demanded.

At the same time that England was losing one Empire in the West she was rapidly gaining another in the East. The loss of the American Colonies meant the end of Grenville's policy and the beginning of the downfall of the 'Policy of Power'; it did not mean the end of empire or colonization. Australia—first seen by the Portuguese—was re-discovered and surveyed by Captain Cook 1769-79. The settlement of it was primarily made because 'prisons were so crowded that it was scarcely possible to secure the prisoners', since after 1783 it was no longer possible to transport convicts to America. But in the minds of those who planned it and those who executed it—Pitt, Sydney, Banks, and Phillip—there was the hope if not the expectation of empire. At the same time in India the genius of Warren Hastings and Wellesley, confronted by the attacks of the French from without, and by the ambitions of military adventurers within, secured peace through the paramountcy of the British rule.



V

THE POLICY OF POWER

DURING the Middle Ages Christian Europe never quite forgot that it all belonged to one great family. Men quarrelled among themselves, as Yorkshire might quarrel with Lancashire, and yet both realize that they are Englishmen ; so they remembered that they all worshipped God in the same way, said the same prayers, believed the same creed. Men throughout Western Europe had much in common with each other : manners and customs were very much the same everywhere, and life went on with very little change. But with the opening of the sixteenth century, suddenly changes began to take place. Men read and thought and wrote much more than they had done ; that meant, they began to differ. They argued about religion—and so came that great division among Christians which we call the Reformation. They argued about the powers that kings ought to have—so came another difference in ideas of government. Nation drew apart from nation ; they broke away from the old traditions, they cease to recognize any link binding them together and each nation set out to make itself as powerful as it could without paying any attention to the welfare of others.

But if nation struggles with nation to get more land and more power it means war ; and war requires money. How

The Policy of Power

could this money be obtained most quickly? The richest source of wealth then known was the trade with the East ; it was to win this for their country that the Portuguese sailors braved the perils of the unknown seas till under Vasco da Gama their caravels anchored off Calicut. It was a rich harvest that they reaped. Spain in attempting to do the same discovered South America, and thought she had stumbled upon a quicker way to get rich than by trade.



The POTOSI gold mines in Bolivia
From a woodcut of 1555

For in Mexico and Peru were the great gold and silver mines ; there was no need to get money by trade, for here it could be had for the digging. So instead of trading settlements Spain founded mining settlements, and from Panama and Nombre de Dios—the gates of the treasure-house of the world—set

sail great fleets of galleons laden with bullion. France and England, as it was then thought, were not so fortunate : they discovered no gold mines, and Portugal was already in possession of the golden East. But all four nations agreed with the Italian Machiavelli who said that the object of all trade is to increase the power of the king.

Trade, therefore, was kept under the control of the king. In Spain and Portugal no one might trade with South America or with India unless they had the king's permission and paid him a large share of the profits. But this haste to get rich quickly worked out its own revenge. Spain thought that the actual possession of gold made a country rich ; so she tried to keep all her gold in Spain, to pay for her wars. Gold,

C A R O L I N A.

THe *Company for Royal Mines*, Copper and other Works in Cumberland, &c. having a Grant from the *Lords Proprietors* of the Province of *Carolina* in America of all the Mines Royal and other Mines with any subterranean Treasure that shall be discovered in the said Province.

These are to give notice, That any Person well understanding Mines, Minerals, &c. and the art of mining, may apply themselves to the Committee appointed for managing the same; sitting at Mrs. *Vernon's* Coffee-house in *Bartholomew-Lane* behind the *Royal Exchange* every *Tuesday* at four a Clock in the Afternoon: And if desirous to serve the said Company in *Carolina* aforesaid, may have encouraging Proposals made them for the same.

That there are Mines of extraordinary value in *America* we need no other Evidence than the Treasure *Europe* now possesseth; which is supplied by a Yearly Import of Bolloin by the *Spaniards*,

Also that there are Mines of equal Value with those possessed by the *Spaniards* in the vast and promising *Apalarbean* Mountains which lie in *Carolina*, for 700 Miles in length and are 20 or 30 Miles over, we need not doubt, since they lie in the same degree of Latitude with *Mexico*, &c. and are very much noted by Writers for the great Treasure they possess; particularly *John de laet*, of *Antwerp*, Anno 1633 in his History of the *West-Indies*; which is confirmed by the unanimous report of the *Indians*, as well as those that have been Eye-witnesses thereof who have brought from thence divers Minerals of good value even from the very surface.

The Country is very pleasant, and the most Southerly of all our *English* Settlement on the Continent, which gives it Preference in many respects to all others, it lying in the same Latitude with *Barmoodoes* and the Land of *Canaan*, (a Climate so much celebrated) and plentiful in Provision both for Sustenance and Exportation; Beef being about 10 s. the Hundred. Pork 14 s. also Wheat, Rice and most other Products of *England* abound, that Trade and Settlement much increasing, many Ships going thither this Year with some hundreds of Passengers.

This Company is printed in my Account of Actions by the Name of the *Carolina* and *Cumberland* Royal Mines.

THE LURE OF GOLD. English exploitation of gold in North America. Advertisement from Houghton's *Collection*, Nov. 1694

however, is only useful for the things you can buy with it. If a man were on a desert island, he would gladly exchange any quantity of gold for food or for a boat wherewith to escape. Gold, if you keep it stored up in a strong room, will not make more gold. It must be used to buy goods which then can be sold again : in such ways wealth grows. The Spanish king's treasure-house was filled with gold, but the people were poor. So Spain, for a short time rich and powerful, soon declined.

England started after other European nations and had a long way to make up. She was poor and everything depended on the courage and enterprise of her people. But, if she were to be great, all that energy must be directed to the one end. So all trade and industry was regulated, not to make the king wealthy but to make England strong and prosperous. Sometimes these regulations were hard on individuals ; but if it were for the good of the nation as a whole, the individual had to be content to suffer. One of the chief aims was to encourage manufacture in England, especially of those things for which the raw material was produced at home. English wool was an obvious example ; it had long been famous and it had been one of the chief sources of supply for the great manufacturing towns of the Low Countries. The manufacture of it in England was increasing under Edward IV ; and Henry VII forced Flanders, by the ' Great Intercourse ' of 1496 to allow the importation of English cloth. The export of raw wool decreased and that of manufactured cloth increased rapidly ; new markets were found for it in the Baltic and in Italy, and the Muscovy Company traded with it into Russia and Persia, where it was preferred to the native manufacture because it wore better. New industries were started—silk-weaving, brass-founding, glass-blowing—no one was permitted to be idle. The ' sturdy vagabond ', the man who could work but would not, was made to work ; he was whipped and branded if he refused.

In this development of her industries England got much

help from the Continent. Spanish cruelty in the Netherlands drove many Dutch to take refuge in England ; from France many of the Huguenots were glad to escape and they came to England also. Both were skilful craftsmen, and Elizabeth settled them about the country in little groups, to teach the Englishmen their trade. They did the work that technical colleges do to-day, and England learnt to make as good cloth as could be made anywhere. But it was no use making it unless people bought it ; some might be exported but a good deal would remain. So curious laws were passed to make people buy ; every man had to wear a woollen cap on Sundays : every one had to be buried in a woollen, and not a linen, shroud ; otherwise a fine had to be paid. One could not do as one liked ; one had to ' support home industries '.

But though the Tudors wanted to encourage manufacture, they would not allow factories. These would draw men from their farms, make them herd together under unhealthy conditions in towns, and in consequence England would not grow enough food to support herself and would have fewer healthy men to act as soldiers. For the same reason the Tudors tried to stop men from turning their farms into great sheep-walks ; for these meant less food grown, and less employment for men in the country. There were bitter words of the ' sheep that do eat up England '. But here the circumstances were too strong for them : wool-growing was too profitable to be resisted.

As trade increased and became more world-wide the guilds, that in medieval times had managed the trade in each town, broke down. They could not cope with the new conditions. Government therefore stepped in, and what each guild had done for its own little district, Government did for all England. A Statute of Apprentices was passed in 1563, compelling all men to learn a trade or else to work on the land ; it laid down the conditions under which men were to work—they must not change their master oftener than once a year ; the Justices of the Peace had to fix each year wages and prices for the

district. Poor Laws were passed, to provide work for those who were able to work and maintenance for those who were not. The welfare of sailors was the Government's special concern; these were very necessary if England was to be a great seafaring country. Three times every week every one must have a dish of fish upon his table—it encouraged the fishing industry, the nursery of English seamen. Hemp for ropes, flax for sails were needed also. Every farmer therefore had to devote a certain proportion of his land to growing these crops. Bacon says of Henry VII that he 'changed the ancient policy of England from considerations of plenty to considerations of power'. To make England powerful was the aim of the Tudors; to that end, they controlled men's lives and activities down to the smallest detail. It was doubtless unpleasant, but it paid.

During Tudor times hardly anybody thought of colonies; Sir Humphrey Gilbert did, and Sir Walter Raleigh, but they were men with ideas far in advance of their age. Colonies were too slow a way of getting rich; trade was the all important thing. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century it was discovered that new countries like America could produce many valuable things, if white men settled there to grow them—tobacco and sugar, cotton and dye-stuffs, for instance. The seventeenth century, therefore, saw the growth of colonies, as distinct from trading settlements where men stayed for a short time to trade with the natives and then returned home. The English colonies prospered more than the Spanish, because they were formed either by trading companies or by men who went to a new country to be free to worship as they liked. No obstacle was placed in the way of men getting land or selling it, if they wanted—though nobody could take more land than he could farm properly; government was simple and inexpensive and the colonists paid no contribution to England. But in the Spanish colonies a few great nobles owned most of the land and the small farmer had no chance at all; there was an army of officials

sent over from Spain to govern, an elaborate and expensive Court, and heavy contributions to Spain.

The first real attempt to organize the Colonies came with Charles II in 1660. Cromwell's work had linked up the Colonies with England—they had become the concern of the Government, not isolated ventures of individuals or companies. The Commonwealth Parliament had set itself to wrest the mastery of the seas from Holland and to make England the chief trading company of the world, by the Navigation Act of 1651. Charles II continued this policy, by the Navigation Act of 1660¹ and the Staple Act of 1663, which laid down the principles on which colonial trade was to be regulated. Foreigners were not allowed to trade as merchants in England's colonies, and no European goods were allowed to enter the Colonies unless they had come to England first. Certain articles—'Enumerated articles' they were called—could be exported from the Colonies only to England; sugar, tobacco, cotton, dye-stuffs, were the most important. That made England the 'Staple' for these goods—i. e. the wholesale market through which all the goods had to



England's fear of foreign manufactures. A satiric playing-card of the time of the South Sea Bubble

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¹ In 1667, however, when the war ended the Dutch got the Act of 1660 modified in their favour, and for the remainder of the century they pressed at times for further concessions.

pass. Goods could only come to England in English ships or in the ships of the country that produced the goods.¹ To count as English a ship had to be English built, English owned, and English manned, to the extent of at least three-quarters of her crew ; colonial-built ships counted as English. That gave

England the carrying trade of the Empire.

All this was to the advantage of England ; what did she give the Colonies in return ? Goods coming from the Colonies only paid about one-third of the duty that goods of the same kind coming from other countries had to pay ; this gave the colonial goods practically a monopoly in the English market. For instance, in 1687-8, 16,000 lb. of Spanish tobacco was imported, and 15,000,000 lb. of colonial. If the goods were re-exported, the merchant could get back half



THE IMPORTATION OF TOBACCO
Cavaliers smoking, 1641

the duty he had paid. On European goods re-exported to the Colonies, all the English duty was refunded. Again, England was not allowed to grow things of which a sufficient supply could be obtained from the Colonies ; for instance, the growth of tobacco in England was forbidden, though the Government had great difficulty in stopping it.² In 1690

¹ There were qualifications to protect English importers of silk from Italy, and of Oriental, American, and African products, from interference in consequence of the Act.

² Smoking, in spite of King James I's *Counterblast*, had become very

it was reckoned that there were 6,000 plantations of tobacco in England, and troops had to be sent to destroy them. But no preference was given to the import of colonial foodstuffs since England was an agricultural country and actually exported foodstuffs to America.



‘THE SMOAKING CLUB’ by Bunbury, about 1780

Rule 4 (hanging on the wall): ‘Any member who puffs designedly in the face of another to be fin’d sixpence or be puff’d at in return by the whole company’

popular in England before this date. In a debate in the House of Commons on April 16, 1621, Sir Grey Palmer said that ‘if tobacco be not banished it will overthrow one hundred thousand men in England, for now it is so common that ploughmen take it as they are at plough’. Smoking clubs arose in order that men might enjoy its social qualities, and in this respect it was a rival to that other new commodity, coffee. The first coffee-house to be opened in England was one opened at Oxford (where Evelyn records that he had seen a Greek drinking coffee in 1637) by a Jew named Jacobs in 1650. London had a coffee-house in George Yard, Lombard Street, two years later; and often tobacco and coffee went hand in hand as the joint attractions.

Besides this, England undertook the defence of the Colonies, not only against Spain or France or Holland, who otherwise would have snapped them up, but against pirates. For instance, till 1680, the sugar ships from Barbados sailed by the route to the north of Ireland, to avoid the Barbary pirates, who were very dangerous not only in the Mediterranean but in the Atlantic off the North African and Spanish coasts. Blake in Cromwell's time had made an expedition against them, and after 1680 English sea-power forced these pirates to make treaties allowing English ships to pass unharmed.

In consequence of this protection and regulation, by the eighteenth century English trade had very much increased. Englishmen thought that they could not do better than continue a policy that had been so successful. But England was becoming more of a manufacturing country and her trade was becoming more varied ; so the regulations now became more detailed. The enumerated articles, which could be exported only to England, were increased in number, and came under two heads. Firstly, there were those articles which were not produced in England at all—molasses, sugar, coffee, tobacco, silk, cotton, dye-stuffs. The importation of these would not compete with English products, and would develop the carrying trade, since England would be the depot for the Continent. Secondly, there were those articles which were produced in England but not in sufficient quantities—iron, copper, hides, naval stores (timber for ship-building, spars, tar, flax, hemp, &c.). The more England could get of these from America, the less she would be dependent on foreign countries. Sweden, for instance, in 1703 attempted to raise the price of naval stores, but thanks to American supplies this attempt was defeated. After the loss of the American colonies, the friendship of Sweden became very important to England since that country was her chief source of supply for naval stores ; the attitude of Sweden thus became an important consideration in England's foreign policy. On articles which were specially important, such as

GOODS *Imported to, and Exported from the*
CUSTOM-HOUSE of London, from the 14th of May,
to the 11th of June, 1692. a Fourth Part whereof follows.

Imported.

S Spice Cinami. *l.* 1175
 Cloves, *l.* 3395
 Nutmegs, *l.* 2572
 Sprouter, *l.* 400
 Steel, *c.* 70, *l.* 10
 Stones Dog, *lasts* 4
 Grave, 4
 Marbles, 1048, *casks* 3
 Blocks, 6
 Paving, 528
 Mill, 8
 Paving, 213
 Quern, *lasts* 7
 Rag, *ton* 15
 Whet, 195600
 Succads, *l.* 601
 Sugar Barbado, *casks* 170, *c.* 196.
 Jamaica, *casks* 115
 Nevis, *c.* 415
 New-England, *casks* 154
 Prize, *chefts* 105
 Sumach, *c.* 472
 Tallow, *c.* 20
 Tarras, *bar.* 233
 Tape Incle, *doz.* 2100, *l.* 710
 Teeth, *c.* 2
 Thimbles, 151000
 Thread Black and Brown *doz.* 56
 Bridges, *doz.* 479, *l.* 319
 Edging, *doz.* 60
 Gold and Silver, *l.* 11
 Sifters, *l.* 14520
 Whited Br. *doz.* 564
 Twine, *c.* 9
 Twist, *doz.* 756
 Tiles Gally, *feet* 830
 Pan, 198500
 Tobacco Bermud. *l.* 17550
 Virgin. *hogsh.* 18, *l.* 27600
 Tubs, *doz.* 10
 Vermilion, *l.* 96
 Ware Bras, *certain*
 Earthen, *casks* 2
 Small, *cert.* 4 times, *fats* 2
 Water Orange-flower, *gal.* 15
 Spaw, *baske* 3
 Sweet, *gall.* 11

Imported.

Wine, *buts* 5, *pip.* 120
 Alicant, *buts* 126, *hogsh.* 7
 Canary, *pipes* 60
 Florence, *chefts* 43
 Portugal, *hogsh.* 22, *pip.* 115
 Rhen. *aumes* 607, *casks* 43
 fats 17, *ps.* 214
 Span. *buts* 5, *casks* 6, *hamp.* 6
 hogsh. 2, *jars* 3, *pipes* 108
 Wood Battins, 947
 Beech, *quart.* 825
 Brazeel, *c.* 17
 Birch, *fatb.* 206
 Fir, *balks* 15675
 Deals, 334622
 Mafts, 132
 Oars, 164
 Sparrs, 5576
 Handspikes, 1184
 Knees, 100
 Linboards, 842
 Log, *ton* 50
 Oak Staves Barr. 36560
 Firk. 10700
 Hogsh. 11200
 Pipe, 109700
 Timber, *load* 4313
 Wainscoat, 2036
 Rownd, *ps.* 3434
 Scale, *bund.* 1500
 Scoops, 600
 Spears, 2
 Wool Cott. *bags* 43, *c.* 3, *l.* 4900
 Goats, *bal.* 8
 Polonia, *bags* 12
 Woollen Caddaz, *doz.* 28
 Hofe, *doz.* 146
 Stuff mixt, *yards* 280
 Yarn Linnen, *fats* 26, *l.* 11100
 Sail, *l.* 1500
 Spinal, *l.* 570
 Spruce, *c.* 22
 Twine, *l.* 400

Exported.

A Lom, *tons* 10, *l.* 150
 Apparel, *cert.* 4 times
 Aqua Fortis, *l.* 6
 Ashes, *bar.* 2
 Bed and Furniture, 1
 Beer, *tons* 20, *bar* 3
 Bellows, 20
 Bisket, *c.* 74
 Bodyes, *doz.* 2
 Books, *c.* 16, *l.* 223
 Boxes Dreff. 13
 Bras, *c.* 34, *l.* 519
 Bruilhes, *doz.* 3 *cert.*
 Butter, *firk.* 200
 Cabinet, 1
 Cage Bird, 6
 Calamancas, *l.* 16
 Candles, *doz.* 51
 Caps, 6
 Monmouth, *doz.* 81
 Red, *doz.* 18, 1
 Cards, *c.* 2
 Chairs, 51
 Backs and Seats, *doz.* 10
 Chalk, *tons* 30
 Cheese, *c.* 1
 Clippings, *c.* 10
 Clock Work, *c.* 2, *l.* 210
 Cafes, 2
 Watches, 12
 Cafes, 5
 Coach, 1
 Coals, *chald.* 34
 Collars Horle, 7
 Copper, *c.* 10
 Copperas, *ton* 11, *c.* 301
 Cordage, *l.* 140
 Corks, *grofs* 588
 Corn Flower, *quart.* 3
 Oatmeal, *bush.* 1
 Peafe, *quart.* 6
 Wheat, *quart.* 6, *bush.* 4
 Cowches, 9
 Dornix, *l.* 240
 Drawers, *cert.*
 Chest 1
 Dresses, 19

naval stores, 'bounties' were allowed—i.e. the merchant received from Government so much on every ton exported from the colony. This not only gave England the timber she required but also encouraged the clearing of American forests and led to more land being available for crops.

Articles which were not on the enumerated list—agricultural produce, salted provisions, fish, sugar, rum—if not exported to England could be sent to any country south of Cape Finisterre. These were not manufacturing countries and so there was no return cargo of manufactures, the supply of which to America England was determined to keep in her own hands. These non-enumerated articles were not forced into the English market, as they would in many cases have competed with England's own products, the very thing which the system was meant to avoid. Provided that these regulations were carried out, any English subject could take part in the trade which was not, as in Spain or Portugal, confined to one company who could charge any price they liked. But—and it was a big 'but'—the Colonies were not allowed to manufacture things for themselves. The manufacture of steel, for instance, was absolutely forbidden—a man could not even make a scythe or a spade to use on his own farm; for steel was one of the chief manufactures of England, and America was an important market to which to export it. It was the same with woollen goods and hats—these could be made for one's own personal use, but not to send away even to the next village. It is easy to understand why the manufacture of woollens was forbidden; the prohibition of 'hats' seems curious, till it is remembered that gentleman's hats used often to be made of beaver, the fur for which came mostly from America. On manufactured sugar so heavy an import duty was charged in England that it was hardly worth while to refine it.

The principles which lay behind all these regulations are set out in a very interesting book, published about 1630, by Mun, called *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade*. The

idea was this : men had seen that Spain's policy of bringing in gold and silver from the New World, and trying to keep it in her own country, had been a failure. But they thought that there was a better plan ; if any nation could each year sell more goods to foreigners than they bought from foreigners, there would be a

balance which the foreigner would have to pay in gold. So the more the home manufacturer could be encouraged the better : there would be more to export. The consumer at home, the man who bought goods, was not much considered ; when he bought the foreigner's goods, he was positively harmful. For manufactures raw materials are wanted ; these the Colonies could supply. If the Colonies were to start

manufacturing, even for their own use, they would cease to buy the English manufactures ; therefore colonial manufactures were forbidden. This at first was not felt to be much of a hardship. While there was plenty of land which anybody could have who wanted it, men would not be willing to work for wages in a factory. One of the greatest Americans at the time of the War of Independence, Benjamin Franklin, admitted that 'while there is land enough in America for our people, there can never be manufactures of any amount or value'. But the fact that they were not

31 *Un Marchand de Londres de la rue C. S.*



PROTECTION of the English trader
A 17th-century English hatter

allowed to manufacture, irritated them ; it was, they said, 'an impertinent badge of slavery.'

This then was one idea—a 'self-sufficing Empire of Customers': the Colonies produced the raw material, England manufactured it. Each bought the goods of the other and were independent of any foreign country. But there was another idea also. During the Middle Ages life was very 'local': everything centred round the local town, and the men of another district or country were regarded as 'foreigners'. The sixteenth century saw the growth of a National ideal, a National trade. The 'Policy of Power'¹ was the outcome of this National feeling ; the power of the National state was to be used to protect and develop the National trade. It was no unworthy ideal ; under it Englishmen felt that they were 'citizens of no mean city'. England's harbours were thronged with ships from all nations, and she became a nation proud and strong. Why then did it fail ? Because England forgot that Colonies grow up, as children do : that regulations, wise and useful to foster and protect a tender growing trade may, if retained too long, restrict and hamper that growth. It was a system devised in the interests of *England* : the interests of the Colonists took second place. If England had frankly faced the facts, and admitted the Colonists to their rightful inheritance of freedom in trade no less than in government, there might have taken place that ideal fulfilment of this policy, of which Pownall, the far-sighted governor of Massachusetts, dreamed, an Empire of customers in which the Colonists would have played an equal part with England. Eagerness for immediate gain blinded England's eyes, and the downfall of the policy of power cleared the way for a truer, because a freer, idea of what the relations between England and her Colonies ought to be.

¹ Also known as the 'Mercantile System' or the 'Theory of the Favourable Balance of Trade'.

His		To	Sugars
Highness Oliver Lord		To	Sugars
Protector of Eng. Land		To	Sugars
and the Commissioners		To	Sugars
of (Debtors)		To	Sugars
1654	March 20	As appears by list of goods sent down by the fleet	00000 04135
#		one brown and heads sent in the forst fleet	00000 00150
#		provisions sent by the gentlemen to Jamaica. As per account	00000 01600
#		Hire of the ships to transport the gentlemen: paid M. Storer	00000 13500
#		paid Capt Mennin for provisions for the present fleet on the Command of General Goddard	00000 14576
#		paid M. John Hunt Secretary as per square Butlers order	00307 00000
#		That is to be paid for M. Mullenaxe, as per order of General Luke, Gloucester: And ordered paid Bonden to pay at Jamaica	00000 01000
#		4 hogheads Sugars of Stephen Johnsons burnt by the storehouse at Mocks Bay. Condemned by order of the Court of Justice	00000 02400
#		Burnt in the same storehouse Sugars that Capt. Marten had paid in, to his highness use as appears by his account	00000 00520
#		Burnt Baker Rowanway	00000 01300
#		John: Barrett cannot be found	00000 00022
#		John: Bray gone in the forst boat	00019 00422
#		As per William Bicks account for 4 muskets for the forst	

ACCOUNT showing payment in sugar and tobacco for services rendered during the Jamaica Expedition, 1654-5. Payments in kind were usual in the Colonies owing to scarcity of coin caused by an adverse balance of trade.



VI

(a) CANADA



At the time when the Quebec Act was passed, in 1774, nobody expected that Canada would ever become the home of a great English-speaking people. But the outbreak of the American War of Independence in the next year changed the whole situation. The Congress of 'The United States' at Philadelphia invited the '14th Colony' to throw off the British yoke ; and it was much surprised when the invitation was not accepted. The clergy and the seigneurs, enjoying the full exercise of their religion and their laws, had everything to lose if they should be joined to a Protestant Republic. The peasantry in general took up a passive attitude ; in spite of encouragement from their seigneurs, they declined to enrol in the Militia, and in some cases gave active help to the American invaders. When the American army marched into Canada in 1775, relying on the sympathy of the Canadians, it captured Montreal without serious fighting, and pushed right up to the walls of Quebec itself. But Carleton the governor determined to defend the city to the last. An assault was beaten off, and with the arrival of the British fleet in the spring of 1776, the American army retired in confusion, leaving much of its baggage behind, and Canada was saved.

Then followed the period of what might be called the second British Conquest of Canada. In 1783 the Treaty of Versailles was signed, by which the independence of the United States was recognized. But there had been a certain section of the Americans who had sided with the British ;

these Loyalists were strongest in the south, which, it will be remembered, had originally been settled by a class of men who would naturally have stronger feelings of attachment to the Crown than would the Puritan New Englanders. Owing to the natural but ungenerous resentment of the Americans against them, the Loyalists were deprived of the protection of the United States' laws—any one could rob or ill-treat them without being punished. They had no alternative but to leave their homes and start afresh in another country.



It was obviously the duty of the British Government to provide for these 'United Empire Loyalists', as they were called, who had lost everything for their loyalty to England. Australia was thought of as a possible home for them, but finally it was decided to offer them lands in Canada. About 35,000 of them were settled in the Maritime Provinces—Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; and about 8,000 were planted in Upper Canada, round what is now Kingston. Their hardships were great, especially in Upper Canada, where the country was covered with a dense tangle of forest. The undrained marshes bred clouds of mosquitoes in summer;

in the winter there was the bitter cold and the deep snow. There were no roads, no towns, no opportunities for trade. Everything they needed they had to make for themselves, and over all there hung the horror of a great loneliness. These men and women had been delicately nurtured, accustomed to the comforts of a settled life; they were suddenly called upon to face the privations of the pioneer. Their determination carried them through, and out of the struggle was born a spirit of comradeship that made them feel themselves a class apart. They were United Empire Loyalists—and they had earned the title.

The Empire Loyalists had enjoyed a considerable amount of self-government in their old American home. After what they had gone through they would not expect less self-government in Canada. What Upper Canada was given Lower Canada must have, or there would be jealousy between the two. In 1791 England passed the Constitutional Act, which gave to the two provinces representative government as it had existed in the former American Colonies, that is, each had an Assembly elected by the people. This Assembly could pass measures and vote money; but since in the revenue there was a deficiency which, till 1818, had to be supplied by the Home Government, the Assembly had very little power. It was the governor appointed by England who had all the real power; he decided what was to be done, and he gave the important posts in the government to the men whom he chose.¹ Whether or no the Assembly liked or trusted the men did not matter. Real self-government means that the people elect an Assembly and then the Assembly decide what men are to carry on the government, and these men are *responsible* to the Assembly for what they do. When the Assembly chooses it can turn out these men and appoint others. This is what happens in England, and

¹ In practice one of the main difficulties of the governor was to reconcile the permanent officials in Canada and the colonial office in London.

it is called responsible government. But the self-government given to the two provinces of Canada in 1791 was unreal; there was an Assembly but it had no power.

Trouble soon began to arise. In Quebec the French quarrelled with the new Governor, Sir J. Craig. They wanted the Assembly to have much more power than it had and were angry that most of the officials appointed by the Governor were British. The British, on the other hand, complained that Quebec was 'too French for a British Colony'. In Upper Canada there was also some friction, though it arose from different causes. A great many immigrants had come, some from Great Britain, but more from the United States, because there was in Upper Canada abundance of good land while taxation was very light, and in the United States, after the War of Independence was over, there had been a great deal of unrest and trade had not been good. These immigrants wanted to have their fair share in the government of the country. But the Empire Loyalists thought that since they had made Ontario a province by their labour and hardships, they ought to reap the reward. Their training, their education, their sense of comradeship gave them a big advantage; and thus the 'Family Compact', as the Empire Loyalists came to be called, kept all the positions of power and profit in their own hands.

Suddenly, however, these somewhat petty jealousies were silenced by a great danger which threatened all Canada. It was 1812, when England was straining every nerve in her final struggle against Napoleon. In this war one of our most effective weapons was the continental blockade; after Trafalgar we were supreme at sea, and we used our sea-power to prevent the French from importing the goods they needed. This meant that our men-of-war stopped and searched ships at sea, to whatever nation they belonged, to find out where they were going and what cargo they carried. Many nations had objected, and the United States were so angry at the interference with their trade that they declared war, hoping

at the same time to gain possession of Canada, since England would be too much occupied in Europe to be able to defend it. The French in Quebec would, they felt sure, revolt against the British, their old enemies ; and the American immigrants would rally to the support of their fellow-countrymen.

Things did not turn out as they expected. The French were Roman Catholics, and had no sympathy with the Protestant Americans : they had been brought up to believe in kings, and after what had happened during the French Revolution, republicanism was hateful to them. Besides, England had treated them very generously in 1774 ; they had everything they wanted, and there was at least a prospect that if America won, they might lose those national privileges which they valued so highly. So they unhesitatingly threw in their lot with England. The same thing happened in the case of the American immigrants ; they had eaten England's salt, and they would not be false to the trust that had been placed in them. As it happened, the direction of the American advance caused the brunt of the fighting to fall upon the Empire Loyalists, in support of the few British regiments then stationed in Canada. They fought with fury and determination. Sleepless, exhausted, and outnumbered, they struggled on among the dense forests of that unbroken wilderness, while the eyes of the world were fixed upon the more spectacular events in Spain and Russia. But the existence to-day of the Dominion of Canada is their memorial ; the Americans were repulsed and Canada was saved. This result was partly due to the fact that the New England States had never liked a war which they knew would prove very harmful to their sea-borne commerce. The American Militia was bad, and they had underrated the strength of the Canadian resistance. At Ghent in 1814 a treaty of peace was signed and America turned her attention to the opening up of her Western lands. Since then any differences between the two countries have been settled by arbitration.

The result of the war was to leave in Canada a definite

feeling of union and loyalty as against outsiders, which did not, however, prevent what might be called family quarrels breaking out again now that the danger was over. There were the claims of the French Canadian Assembly in Lower Canada, there was the jealousy of the Family Compact in Upper Canada. This discontent came to a head in 1837 in the rebellions led by Papineau and Mackenzie. They were not very serious rebellions; in neither province did any considerable part of the population join them. But they showed that there was something wrong, and in 1838 Lord Durham was sent out from England to investigate.

Certain politicians, such as Mackenzie and Baldwin, in Upper Canada had come to the conclusion that the only satisfactory method of removing this discontent would be to grant responsible government. The ministers in Canada could be responsible to their own Assembly—which was what the people in Canada wanted; but the Governor could be responsible to the English Parliament—which was what the people in England wanted. Lord Durham accepted their idea. In his masterly Report he advised that the two provinces, Upper and Lower, should be joined together under one Assembly. This would prevent friction arising between the two provinces as it had done in the past, since it would remove the danger that Lower Canada would hinder Upper Canada's trade by setting up tariffs or any other barriers. It was also thought that in this way the strong French feeling in Quebec would grow less, and that French and English would mix together and settle down. 'I found', wrote Lord Durham, 'two nations warring in the bosom of a single state. . . . It came to my knowledge that a gentleman who was for some years a most active leader amongst the English population had never once been under a private roof with a French Canadian until he met some at table on the invitation of persons attached to my Mission.' And again, 'the only public occasion on which they (English and French Canadians) meet is the jury box, and they meet there only to the utter obstruction of justice'.

He also suggested that they should be given full responsible government in their local affairs, the British Parliament keeping control of foreign policy, all questions concerning the Army and Navy, the regulation of commerce, and the settlement of the unoccupied lands.

His first suggestion was carried out at once, and the Act of Union was passed in 1840. In one very important matter it did not do what had been expected of it. French national feeling was much too strong to be so simply got rid of. It might (though that is doubtful) have been suppressed more or less by force immediately after 1763: it certainly could not in 1840 even though the English had so greatly increased that they were now beginning to outnumber the French. But the idea of granting responsible government to a colony, even with the safeguards that Lord Durham had suggested, seemed to many in England a mad idea and aroused a storm of protest. The *Quarterly Review* in 1839 spoke of the Report's 'distorted facts, false reasoning and monstrous inconsistencies'. Lord Durham did not live to see the result of his work. His determined actions in Canada had roused up enemies at home. 'He had made a country but marred a career.'¹ The treatment he received affected his already impaired health and he died a few days after the Act of Union was passed. The Liberal Government which came into power under Lord John Russell in 1846 accepted his views more frankly than any earlier ministry. No new Act of Parliament was needed to set up responsible government; all that was required was a clear understanding that the party which had the majority in the Canadian Parliament should practically decide who were to be the ministers. Lord Elgin was sent as a sympathetic Governor-General fully to carry out the new practice. It was a wise choice, and during his term of office the system got into working order.

In the meantime events which were to be very important for the future development of Canada had been taking place

¹ Justin M'Carthy, *A History of Our Own Times*.

on the other side of the country on the Pacific Coast. As far back as 1791 Pitt the Younger had been engaged in a dispute with Spain as to the ownership of what is now Vancouver. Each country claimed it on the ground that she had been the first to discover it. Spain appealed to France to support her claim, for Spain and France had for some time been close allies, as the king of each country was a Bourbon. But France was in the first stage of the Revolution ; Mirabeau, for the



An official of the HUDSON BAY COMPANY in a light canoe, 1824

moment the foremost figure in the States General, was then engaged in a desperate struggle to induce Louis XVI to save his throne by accepting a Constitution and agreeing to govern henceforth with the advice of a Parliament. France had no energy to spare for such apparent trifles as the ownership of a few miles of uninhabited forest on the Pacific Coast. Spain, unsupported by her ally, gave way and England made good her foothold. The importance of this was that England held both ends of that long narrow strip that is Canada. Unless America should acquire it—and we have seen how she failed to do so—there was no other nation that could do so while England held the seas. The land might be uninhabited : nearly 2,000 miles of it was. But it would wait till Eastern Canada

began to be more thickly populated. Then, as more and more people flocked in, there would be the vast fertile stretches of the Prairie Provinces waiting to welcome them.

For nearly thirty years nothing was done with the new territories ; it was not till 1821 that even the Hudson Bay Company settled a small post there. Their object was to get furs, and they carefully discouraged any possible settlers (who would have disturbed the animals) by spreading reports of



HUDSON BAY COMPANY. Interior of Fort Garry, *c.* 1821

the long and bitter winters, the savageness and desolation, and the barrenness of the soil. In any case, the two thousand miles of wilderness ending in the stupendous barrier of the Rocky Mountains were enough to prevent any settlement from the east, and the Hudson Bay Company with its furry friends was left in undisputed possession.

About 1849 gold was discovered in California. There was a wild stampede from the east of all sorts and conditions of people, anxious to get rich quickly. Those quiet solitary lands whose beauty was unseen save by a wandering Indian were suddenly transformed by a grim magic into roaring fighting mining camps where the revolver kept what the spade



THE GOLD FEVER in America. The first picture which appeared in the *Illustrated London News*. Washing for gold, 1849



THE GOLD FEVER. A gold mine to-day (Kimberley, South Africa)

had won. The gold rush swept northwards up the coast, as gold was discovered in one place after another, till it finally reached Vancouver. This created a situation with which the Hudson Bay Company could not deal, and the territory was taken over by the Crown. But still British Columbia, as it was called, remained a land apart from Upper and Lower Canada ; it was settled from the west, not from the east ; it was approached by sea from the Pacific not by land across the Prairies.

By about 1860 it had become obvious to far-sighted men that Canada would not remain a mere cluster of settlements on the east, but would sooner or later spread right across the continent to the Pacific Coast. The great foe to be overcome was nature—the size and wildness of the country. In war the most important problem is communication ; Canada was at war with the wilderness, and her most pressing need was some method of linking together the various provinces. These fell naturally at that time into four groups. There were the Maritime Provinces, whose interests were mainly fishing and shipping, with some mining, mainly of coal. There was Lower Canada with a strong French national spirit which it was determined at all costs to preserve ; there the population was chiefly concerned in farming. In Upper Canada there was an equally aggressive British spirit bent on the development of the country as a whole. Lastly, Vancouver with its gold mines would never be able to make the most of its great natural resources till it had easier and quicker communication with the east. Thus the point of view of each of the groups differed considerably and it would not be easy to form a union of the four.

In 1861 there broke out in the United States the Civil War, over the question whether the States of the South should be allowed to withdraw from the Union into which they had entered at the time of the American War of Independence. Had they been allowed to do so, the future of America as a great nation would have been at an end. The

North therefore determined to compel them to remain in the Union, by force if necessary. In this war the sympathy of Great Britain (though Lancashire was a notable exception) and to a much less extent of Canada was on the whole with the South, which, ever since the early days of its settlement, had been more closely connected with England in sentiment and interest. Feeling ran high : when the war was over there were raids into Canada by Irish Fenians which the United States was not very energetic in suppressing, and in 1866, the trade treaty, which Lord Elgin had made to allow greater facilities for the trade of both countries across the border, was not renewed. Thus the United States thought to take her revenge ; if she could not conquer Canada by force, she would compel her to join America, by depriving her of her most convenient market for her raw materials.

There was a general feeling of insecurity ; Canada's old fear of the United States revived, and there was at the same time a strong impression that Great Britain was not prepared adequately to defend the frontier. The need of some sort of agreement among the four groups of provinces was felt to be urgent. The idea of a federation was not a new one. Lord Dorchester had suggested it at the time of the Constitutional Act (1791) ; it had been put forward in 1822 but rejected by the Colonial Office on the grounds that it would lead to secession ; Lord Durham had been converted from the idea of a Federation to that of a Union, by his desire to crush French nationalism. The improvement in the means of communication—steam, rail, telegraph—made the idea a far more possible one. Besides that, the system then in force was not working well. It had been expected that the Act of Union in 1840 would gradually abolish French national feeling, but it had not. Consequently in 1864 Canadian statesmen eagerly seized the chance offered by a conference of the Maritime Provinces to consider a closer union among themselves, to raise the bigger question of some kind of union between all the Provinces. 'If we wish', said John Macdonald,

the leader of the Conservative party in the Union Parliament, 'to be a great people, to form a great nationality commanding the respect of the world, . . . if we wish to have one system of government and to establish a commercial union with unrestricted free trade between peoples of the five provinces—this can only be attained by a Union of some kind between the weak and scattered boundaries composing the British North American provinces.'

The difficulties were great. Quebec and the Maritime Provinces each dreaded it, fearing that it would mean the sacrifice of their own particular interests and the swamping of their own individuality ; British Columbia declined to come in unless a trans-continental railway were built to link it with the east. The difficulties and expenses of such a line would be enormous ; whether it would pay to build it across the uninhabited prairies was at least doubtful. But Macdonald, with Cartier, a French Canadian, as his right-hand man, by his tact and energy succeeded in reconciling all parties. In face and person singularly like Disraeli, he was also like him in his mastery of debate and in his power to manage men. In 1867 the final draft of the British North America Bill was agreed to at the Westminster Palace Hotel in London, whose respectable stuccoed front contrasts so oddly with the historic conferences which have so often taken place within its walls. By this Act each province retains its own Assembly and its own Lieutenant-Governor, but over them all there is a supreme Federal Government, placed at Ottawa ; the British Government deals only with the Federal Government. In other words the Federal Government exercises all powers except those which it allows to the Provincial Assemblies. It is thus a 'strong' type of federation.

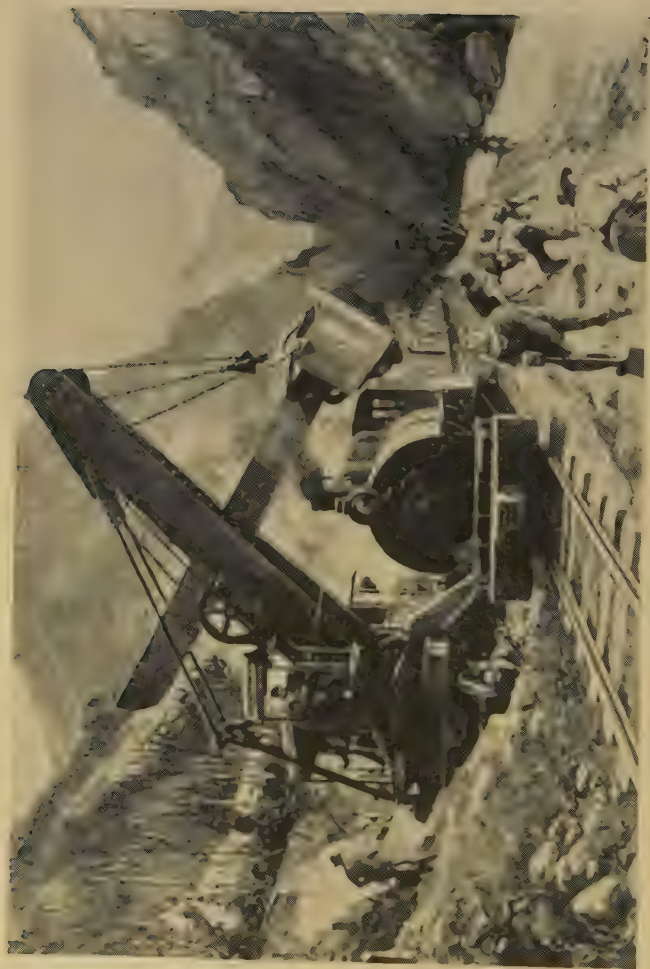
To this general Federation there was, however, one exception : Newfoundland refused to join. Geographically she looks southward and eastward to the sea. During the period of the French wars she had many disputes with the French over fishing rights and had learnt not to love her neighbours in

Quebec. Again, the United States was a better market for her fish (for a long time her chief industry) than Canada ; and the United States could supply her with the capital she needed. In the 'nineties a disastrous fire at St. John's, combined with the failure of her fisheries, caused great distress in the island, and Newfoundland would have been willing to join the Federation, if Canada would have made herself responsible for the whole of Newfoundland's debt. But Canada tried to drive too hard a bargain, and Newfoundland refused. To-day, with the development of new industries such as lumbering, paper-making, and mining, largely helped by English capital, a new era of prosperity is dawning for her. She continues to stand out from Canada, but time may bring her in.

It may seem strange that at the very time when the American Civil War was showing the dangers and the weakness of Federations, Canada should yet have chosen that form of government in preference to an absolute union under one Parliament. But the reason lay in the position of the French Canadians in Quebec. The Quebec Act of 1774 was not so much an Act of Parliament as a treaty between two peoples by which the French in Canada were guaranteed certain privileges. This could not be ignored in 1867. If these special privileges were retained, a uniform system for the whole of Canada was impossible ; therefore the federal type of government had to be chosen.

The Federation had been completed ; it remained to pay the price ; the railway had to be built. For some years that was the chief question at issue between the political parties. The trackless prairie, the dense forest, the engineering feats necessary to cross the Rockies—those difficulties seemed unsurmountable. Added to that, there was no population in the West : where then was the traffic to come from ? The Opposition called Macdonald and his party mad, but they persisted.¹ They said the railway would bring the population

¹ A good deal of this antagonism was due to the means employed rather than to the general principles. In certain matters Macdonald



CONSTRUCTING THE C. P. R.

and the traffic would follow, and with magnificent faith they mortgaged the credit of the country. Fortune loves a bold player, and she crowned their efforts with success. The Canadian Pacific Railway was opened in 1886. It made Canada one country, bound together literally with a band of iron.

When the Canadian Pacific had been finished it was possible to think of Canada as one country. It is a country unlike any other in the world. The part in which people can live is a belt about 3,000 miles long, which varies in breadth from 100 to 400 or more miles : beyond that are the stretches of the frozen north. This long narrow belt falls naturally into three divisions. First comes the eastern section, which stretches from the Atlantic to the western shore of Lake Superior, that is about 1,500 miles ; it includes the Maritime Provinces, Quebec, and Ontario. This was originally forest land, from which the settlements were hacked out by the axe. The country is fairly hilly with innumerable lakes, big and little. Northward of the settlements stretch the forests, dotted with lakes, flecked with rivers. The St. Lawrence is as wide as the Straits of Dover up to one hundred miles below Quebec : it is a mile wide at Quebec, and the ocean steamers go right up to Montreal, which has consequently become the commercial capital.

Quebec, that rock-built citadel 'famoused in fight', is the centre of French Canada. Founded by Champlain in 1608. it speaks for ever of the glories of Old France—of Count Frontenac, that great-hearted adventurer who had wedded the sword as his second wife, of devoted missionaries and gentle ladies who had braved all to carry the Christian faith into that savage wilderness. It was along the St. Lawrence, for the 140 miles up to Montreal, that the first French settlements were made by the soldiers of Louis XIV, who were rewarded by grants of land for their bravery on the battle-fields of Europe. This district remains to-day a land apart, with had not been over scrupulous. Also, the Opposition wanted a railway farther north, and owned by the State.

its picturesque buildings, its long sloping roofs and dormer windows, gaily picked out with pink colour-wash and green shutters. Amid each cluster of houses rises the tall church spire, speaking of a realm where money is not everything, and the manners of the peasantry still keep a touch of that old-world courtesy not elsewhere conspicuous among the Canadian people. The land itself is only second rate, but the thrifty home-loving French Canadian will not change it, as other Canadians would have done, for the more fertile lands farther west.

From Ontario, a country of apple orchards, dairy farms, and (in the north) of mining settlements, we pass to the Prairie Provinces—Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta; 800 miles of the finest agricultural land in the world. This is not the flat green billiard table it is sometimes pictured, but rather wide rolling downland with patches of trees here and there, especially along the rivers which glide smooth-flowing between high banks. Until the 'eighties these prairie lands were almost unknown country. From Montreal to Winnipeg was a ten weeks' strenuous journey, across the fur-traders' jealously guarded preserves. In 1881 came the first boom. The railway had been partly built; the repeal of the Corn Laws in England had caused a slump in English farming which made men willing to emigrate, and it had also opened a growing market to which Canadian wheat could be sent. About the same time wheat was beginning to be grown in the newly opened lands of the American West. The price of wheat dropped everywhere; farming in Ontario was not so profitable as it had been, and many from there moved west to try their luck. The population of Winnipeg—the gateway to the West—jumped from 300 to 30,000.

Then the boom stuck. The new-comers found that with the long bitter winter, when the thermometer went down to 20 degrees below zero, their old methods of farming were no use. Transport was difficult and expensive; the loneliness was overpowering. 'Canada', they said, 'must be content to remain a poor country.' They were bad prophets. In 1900 began the big boom which has never stuck. The American

West was filling up, and American immigrants began to cross the border. Canada was advertised in Europe and immigration encouraged. The result to-day is that about one-quarter of the total population of the Dominion is in the Prairie Provinces. But it is still not an easy life there. The great loneliness of the early years is being conquered ; more railways are being built, and there is the telephone which links one farm-house with another. New methods of farming are being introduced and new kinds of wheat discovered, which ripen early before the winter comes and which need less rain. That means that more land can be put under wheat in the drier country nearer the Rocky Mountains where there is less rainfall. So in the West the belt widens out to more than 300 miles. But the great difficulty is labour ; the farmer can get no help at harvest time. So, except on the cattle ranches of the West, the farms tend to be fairly small—150 to 500 acres—of a size that a man with his family can manage themselves. Even then, not all of it is taken up with wheat, there is a growing amount of mixed farming.

Over the Rocky Mountains one passes into a new world. In British Columbia there are three parallel ranges of gigantic mountains—the Rockies, the Selkirks, the Coast Range. Between them lie beautiful valleys of rich meadow land ; on the slopes, forests of stately Douglas pine. The climate is one of the most perfect in the world, clear, sunny, exhilarating. In Vancouver the ocean liners can come right up to the quayside almost in the centre of the town, and near by the forests reach to the water's edge.

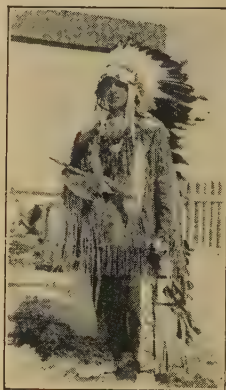
Thus Canada is not all wheat ; in the Maritime Provinces there is coal and iron, in Ontario mixed farming, in the West ranching, and in British Columbia besides fruit-growing there is much coal and a wealth of minerals as yet almost undeveloped. In the northern lands there are the almost endless forests, of which the soft woods are used for paper-making. There is an abundant supply of water-power and electricity. In fact, Canada has everything that is needed for manufacturing on a large scale. The great markets of the north-



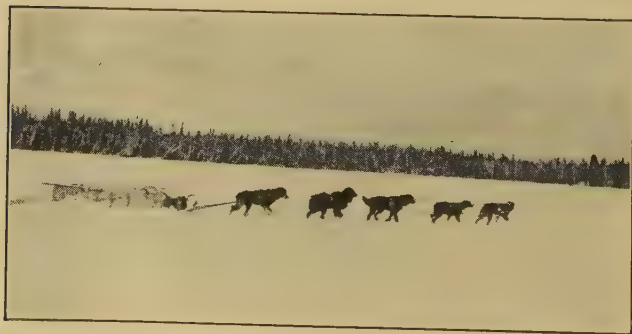
Leng Lake



Winter Wigwam



Sioux Costume



The Commissariat

CANADA'S CONTRASTS. A Hudson Bay Post

west are clamouring to be supplied, and Ontario has not been slow in answering the appeal. She manufactures agricultural machinery, electrical appliances of all kinds, and motor-cars.



CANADA'S CONTRASTS. The prairie wheatfield

During the war there was a great boom in manufacture, and an industrial revolution is in full swing¹ in Quebec as well as in Ontario. This raises the delicate question of tariffs. When

¹ During 1920-1 the Massey Harris Company exported over £1,000,000 worth of agricultural implements to Australia alone.



the United States had settled down after the Civil War, she began to pour manufactured goods over the frontier into Canada. To prevent this, Macdonald in 1878 adopted what is known as the 'National Policy'—that is, all imported manufactured goods had to pay a duty of roughly 30 per cent. Under this policy Canada prospered, and until recently no one questioned it. But it has meant that the farmer of the North-West has been paying more for his goods, in order that the Ontario manufacturer may get his profit. Lately the farmer has grown restive, and there is now a Farmer's Party in the Parliament which is prepared to reconsider the tariff question. But at the same time there is a strong feeling against letting the United States exploit Canada's resources. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the great Canadian Premier, in 1911 proposed to give the United States greater facilities for trade in Canada, he and his party were at once defeated.

Besides this there are two other problems that Canada has to face to-day. One is that of the French Canadians. Their national feeling has increased, not decreased. Though they are quite friendly with their Canadian neighbours they do not mix with them. Their numbers are increasing, and they are spreading into Ontario and Manitoba, which have determined that these French settlers must fall into line with the English and not start new French schools for their children. The other problem concerns immigration. Of late years there have been a great and increasing number of American immigrants into Canada ; many non-British Europeans have also entered the country. Thus, of the yearly immigrants into Canada, the majority are not British. On the Pacific side the Chinese and Japanese desire to come in, but Canada has determined to keep them out, and she has made good her claim to control her own immigration laws. Therefore one must not think of Canada as a kind of extension of Great Britain. Her people are of mixed race, and from them there is springing up a Canadian nation whose loyalty to the Commonwealth is beyond question, but whose demand is for complete political equality.

VI. (b) THE WEST INDIES ¹

ABOUT the Spanish Main with its clustering islands there yet linger the magic and mystery of the tropic seas. Here the Elizabethans lay in wait for the Spanish treasure-ships as they passed through the Mona Channel between Porto Rico and San Domingo. Here in the seventeenth century the pirates from their island lairs harried the Spanish shipping. Here was almost the earliest home of British sea-power. With their countless creeks and harbours these islands formed the natural base for the power that was trying to wrest from Spain her South American trade. When the Spanish power was declining, the struggle for their possession still continued. St. Kitts, the first English settlement in the Caribbean Sea, was colonized by Sir Thomas Warner in 1623. The possibilities of the islands were quickly recognized and during the seventeenth century the Leeward Islands, Barbados, and the Bahamas became English settlements, Jamaica was captured from Spain by the fleet under Penn (see p. 66) and a footing was obtained on the mainland in Honduras. In the eighteenth-century wars between the French and English the Caribbean Sea was one of the chief centres of hostilities. Off Martinique Rodney defeated De Grasse in 1782 and regained command of the sea ; it was among these islands that Nelson gained much of his experience. At the Peace in 1814 England acquired among other islands Trinidad, and on the mainland British Guiana.

But the West Indies were not important merely as stations for our fleet. Columbus had introduced the sugar-cane ; cotton and tobacco were also grown. From the opposite

¹ The chief British possessions in the West Indies are :

(a) Jamaica (population in 1911, 831,000). (b) Bahamas. (c) British Leeward Islands—the chief are St. Kitts, Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica. (d) Barbados. (e) British Windward Islands—St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada. (f) Trinidad and Tobago (population 300,000). (g) On mainland : British Guiana. British Honduras.

mainland in Honduras came the dyewoods which were so important for our growing textile industries. With the Declaration of American Independence dawned the golden age of the islands. They possessed almost a monopoly of the home market in sugar, and a valuable trade in other tropical



FISHING VILLAGE, TRINIDAD

produce. Port Royal, the chief harbour of Jamaica, was the centre of the trade in slaves with the Spanish colonies granted to England by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. It was the resort of men like Sir Henry Morgan, who were buccaneers in time of peace and authorized privateers in time of war. There were some two and a half million acres under cultivation, valued at about £86,000,000, and the wealth of a West Indian planter rivalled that of an Indian nabob.

All this wealth was founded on slave labour. Spanish rule, with its hideous cruelties, had depopulated the islands.

The West Indies

Negroes had been imported from West Africa to supply the necessary labour for the plantations, and in this trade the English had taken at least their share. Admiral John Hawkins's coat of arms had, not without reason, two negroes as 'supporters'. But at the end of the eighteenth century some men grew troubled in their minds about this question of slavery. John Woolman, a Quaker, at the time of the Seven



keep it from them. Since no more slaves could be obtained, the planters tried to get the last ounce out of those they had. Rebellion and repression followed. Then came the fall in prices at the end of the Napoleonic war, followed by the emancipation of the slaves in 1833, and finally by the adoption of Free Trade, which, combined with the foundation of the sugar-beet industry in Europe, destroyed the West Indian monopoly in sugar.



EMANCIPATION OF SLAVES. On the left the liberated blacks dance round Sir T. F. Buxton. To the right John Bull is disturbed by the bill of £20,000,000. Cartoon by J. Doyle

The ruin of the islands seemed complete ; wealthy families were ruined and great estates went out of cultivation. Jamaica had lost the profits of the slave-trade, the freed slaves were not inclined to work, and the exports from the plantations rapidly declined. The dissatisfaction of the planters led to disputes with the British Parliament, as to the rights of the latter to interfere with the Assembly's control over Jamaican affairs. In 1865 there took place a negro rising at Morant Bay. This was so sternly suppressed by Governor Eyre that he was recalled, and in the following year the Assembly surrendered its powers to the Crown.

The West Indies

To replace the slaves Indian and Asiatic coolie labour was imported. But the planters were not prepared to change their methods ; the depression in trade continued and there was some talk of annexation to the United States—a measure viewed with alarm by the coloured population. In recent years, however, a change has come over the islands. New industries have developed such as the growing of cocoa, cotton, and fruit, especially bananas, and scientific methods have revived the sugar industry. There is an Imperial Department of Agriculture with its head-quarters in Barbados. Trinidad has an additional source of wealth in its oil wells, and its wonderful asphalt lake. The Bermudas farther north, and the Bahamas near Florida, have become winter pleasure-gardens for the United States. With the opening of the Panama Canal the islands once more find themselves on one of the great highways of commerce. A direct steamship service has been started with Halifax, and there is opening up the possibility of a closer union between the islands and Canada, and the prospect of a brighter and more peaceful future.



Field of Sugar-Cane



VII

SOUTH AFRICA

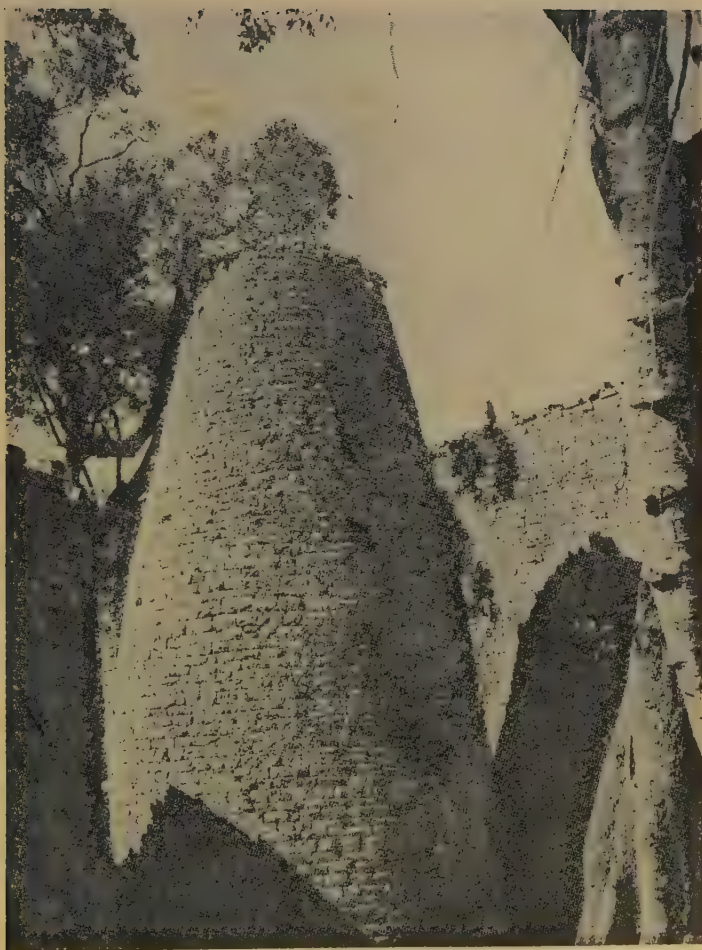
AFRICA has always been a land of mystery ; the Romans had a proverb that 'from Africa always comes something new', and to us still it is 'the Dark Continent'. In the north was the mighty kingdom of the Pharaohs which across the gulf of the centuries still lays a spell upon the hearts of men ; in the centre rose and fell the great experiment of the Songhay Empire on the Niger when Timbuktu was famed throughout the East for its trade, its riches, and for the learning of its university. In Mashonaland are the ruins of those half-buried cities, relics of unknown men, suggesting the time when King Solomon traded beyond Egypt for gold and ivory, apes and peacocks. Among the countless tribes of the southern veld have arisen great chiefs and warriors, Tchaka, Ketschwayo, Moshesh, whose names are still a word of power among the natives. Thus the history of the continent is thrilling but terrible, dark with deeds of violence and blood. There is something even in the lonely splendour of its mountain ranges, in the mysterious lighting of its dawns and sunsets, that suggests a land come half finished from the hand of its Creator.

It is therefore hardly surprising that the history of South Africa has been a chequered one, for there the ordinary problems of colonization have been complicated by almost all the imaginable difficulties of race and climate. And it has

only been in comparatively recent years that there have come the mineral discoveries—gold, diamonds, coal, copper, tin—which have altered so suddenly the course of its development.

When first discovered by the Portuguese Bartholomew Diaz in 1487, the Cape of Good Hope was only regarded as a landmark on the route to India. Trade was the object of the Portuguese, not land; they used St. Helena and afterwards Mozambique as calling-places for fresh water and provisions, and the Cape was neglected. They learnt, through the Arab traders in the Indian Ocean, of the existence of gold and ivory in the interior of the east coast of Africa. Therefore Sofala was occupied in 1506, and in 1569 Francisca Barreto made an attempt to push up the Zambezi and reach the gold-bearing lands. But this attempt to penetrate Africa from the east proved disastrous. The mountain ranges, which in the extreme south come almost to the sea, run more due north than does the coast; thus there is left a belt of low-lying land between the mountains and the sea. At the mouth of the Zambezi this is too broad for the highlands to be seen across it; marshy and swampy, it is a paradise for wild fowl of all kinds, the home of the alligator and the hippopotamus. All over it fever hangs like a death-bearing cloud; and it forms an almost impassable barrier between the sea and the uplands of the interior. It was through this that the Portuguese tried to make their way. Harassed by the natives, weakened by fever, they had to retire; they were forced to content themselves with the foundation of small trading stations at Sena and Tete on the Zambezi and along the coast.

West of the Drakensberg Mountains stretches a vast tableland, from three thousand to five thousand feet in height, right across to the Atlantic: it slopes up gradually to the north, and then falls sharply down to the valley of the Zambezi, which forms a great gulf across South Africa. The prevailing wind is east or south-east, but the Drakensberg form a barrier, and in consequence the country between the mountains and the sea is well watered; a reasonable amount of



MYSTERIOUS CONICAL TOWER before the Court of
Zimbabwe's Temple

rain falls over the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and Eastern Bechuanaland. But in the districts farther west the rainfall is slight; and, except in Cape Colony itself, the rainfall west of a line drawn due north from Mossel Bay is less than fifteen inches. It is therefore partly due to reasons of climate that the interior of South Africa has fallen not to the Portuguese, the first discoverers, but to the English and Dutch. They came last, but starting from the Cape marched north-east along the healthy uplands where game was plentiful, and settlement possible.

The seventeenth century saw the coming of the Dutch, who were overthrowing Portugal's trading Empire in the Indian Ocean. By the middle of the century the Dutch settlement of South Africa had begun; vines and later on merino sheep were introduced and the Cape became a flourishing pastoral colony, in spite of troubles and wars with the native races. But soon after the outbreak of the Revolutionary war, Holland, as the Batavian Republic, joined France, and the Cape, now in the possession of a hostile power, became a danger to England's communication by sea with India, where France was assisting the Mahrattas and 'citizen' Tipu of Mysore, in an attempt to drive out the British. It was therefore captured in 1795 and finally ceded in 1814, £6,000,000 being given to Holland in compensation for it and for part of British Guiana.

The acquisition came at an unfortunate time. The effect produced by the independence of the American Colonies had not yet passed away and public opinion regarded colonies as expensive luxuries; it was no use spending money on them because, as soon as they were grown up, they would shake off their allegiance. This was not a frame of mind which could be expected to deal sympathetically with the peculiar problems and difficulties of South Africa; these required long views and constructive statemanship if they were to be solved successfully. The transformation of the Batavian Republic, of which many of them approved, into the Kingdom of

Holland had gone a long way towards reconciling the Dutch to their new rulers; but they were still a little sore and suspicious. Consequently, a proclamation in 1828 that English was to be the only official language was unfortunate, since it reawakened the resentment which was just beginning to die down. The question of the natives was the other great difficulty. The movement which was to result in the abolition of slavery was then beginning in England. Public opinion was very sensitive to stories of native oppression; and England—all honour to her—regarded herself as the trustee for the coloured peoples within her dominions. The trial of Warren Hastings had been evidence of her determination; and she now honourably resolved that her policy should be to protect the Kaffirs and lead them to a higher and a Christian life. But her zeal was not always guided by knowledge, and the Kaffirs were credited with qualities which they did not possess. Something more than good intentions was needed to transform a race of warlike children into self-controlled and industrious communities.

In 1822 came the rise of Tchaka, who from a general had forced his way up to the chieftainship of the Zulus. A great ruler, a brilliant leader, with a heart that knew neither fear nor pity, his ambition was to dominate the lands to the south and east. His first step was to reorganize his armies; regiments were formed and re-armed with a broad stabbing assegai; a merciless discipline was set up, cowardice or failure being punished with death. Then he turned on the neighbouring tribes; cattle were carried off, kraals burnt, people massacred—only the young men were spared, to be enrolled in his ever-victorious armies. The passage of a Zulu 'impi' across the country was like a blasting flame, and the whole of the east-coast district was a scene of the wildest confusion. To make matters worse, one of Tchaka's generals, Moselekatse, fell under his displeasure for failing to send him all the booty gathered on a raid. To avoid Tchaka's vengeance Moselekatse and his army fled northward into what

is now the Transvaal. This army, calling itself the Matabele, determined to protect itself by leaving behind it a desert which Tchaka's armies could not cross, and they destroyed every living thing on their march.

The details of the endless wars between the British and the Kaffirs make wearisome reading : the problem for the Government was how to protect Cape Colony on the exposed eastern



MOSHESH

frontier. In Basutoland, a difficult hilly country, which has been called the Switzerland of South Africa, Moshesh, a very able chief with a gift for diplomacy, had offered a refuge to fugitive tribes and was building up a strong native power, which alarmed the surrounding settlers. But Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary from 1835 to 1839, accepted the view that in these Kaffir wars it was the settlers who were the aggressors, and that the natives were fighting in defence of their lands and homes, 'urged to revenge and desperation by the sys-

tematic injustice of which they had been the victims'. D'Urban, the Governor, had proclaimed British sovereignty over the frontier district, as the only means of ensuring some sort of order. This sovereignty, Glenelg said, must be renounced, and instead treaties must be made with the Kaffir chiefs on grounds of perfect equality. If white men crossed into Kaffir territory, they would be subject to Kaffir law. To those on the spot the situation would have been laughable had it not been tragic. D'Urban and Napier, the Governor who succeeded him, had both come out from England prejudiced in favour of the natives : both, when

they saw the actual condition of things, realized that the Colonists were in the right. But the British Government was obdurate: d'Urban's protest was answered by his dismissal and the Kaffirs were left free to continue their murderous raids.

The feeling of insecurity which resulted from this measure determined many of the Dutch in 1836 to trek northwards and found new homes in the lands made vacant by Tchaka's



THE OLD HOME. Groot Constantia, one of the early Dutch farm houses of the Cape

armies. Many circumstances had occurred during the past few years to irritate them, especially the grant of civil equality to the Hottentots and the method by which the Government proposed to carry out the freeing of the slaves. The settlers in the east looked to the Hottentots to supply the labour of which they stood in great need, and they resented intensely being forbidden to exercise 'domestic correction' over their servants. To emancipation they were not entirely hostile, but they wanted it carried out gradually. But they found

that only £1,250,000 was allotted to the Cape district in compensation for slaves valued at £3,000,000¹; and, with incredible stupidity, the Government required that all claims should be proved in London. A Dutch farmer could not go to London to prove his claim; he sold it to some speculating agent, and so only received about one-fifth of the value of his slaves. Thus many wealthy families were reduced to



THE GREAT TREK NORTH. From an old water-colour

poverty. This, however, was not the main reason for the great trek; for most of the emigrants came from the frontier districts where there were few slaves, but where the insecurity against Kaffir raids was greatest.

The northern march of these Dutch farmers is a record of dogged pluck worthy of the descendants of the men who had come out victorious from their heroic struggle against the might of Spain. After the treacherous murder of a party by Moselekatse, the Boers in grim fights when his veteran warriors outnumbered them a hundred to one, drove him

¹ 'Amid loud self laudations and self congratulations the nation paid up conscience money of something less than 10s. in the £.'—Egerton, *Colonial Policy*, p. 278.



THE NEW HOME. A Boer settler in the Transvaal with his family and servants. c. 1870

back across the Limpopo. One section under Rietief decided to turn eastwards to Natal: they went to see Dingaan the chief, to arrange for settlement on his lands and were hospitably received; then, at a sudden signal his warriors closed round and murdered them. They rushed the encampment and massacred every man, woman, and child within it. The other party hurried to avenge them. In December 1838, a day which is still celebrated as 'Dingaan's Day', they avenged the massacre, and the Blood River grimly commemorates the scene of the fighting. But to the British Government these emigrants were rebels and oppressors of natives; to pursue them would be difficult; to isolate them, easy. In 1842, therefore, a British military force occupied Natal and treaties were formed with the Griquas and Basutos to form a barrier of native states between the Boers and the English.

Lord Glenelg had said that 'time would show' whether his plan of treaties with the Kaffirs, or d'Urban's plan of proclaiming British sovereignty over them, was the better. Time did show. Murders and raids increased, and at last in 1847 Sir Harry Smith was made Governor with instructions to carry out d'Urban's policy. Therefore British sovereignty was extended on the east over 'British Kaffraria'; and on the north over the territory between the Vaal and the Orange, which was given the name of the Orange River Sovereignty. The natives were to be under the rule of their own chiefs; but there was to be general British supervision, and all disputes between tribes were to be settled by the British Government. Unfortunately the change in policy came too late. The Dutch had not made their bitter trek into the wilderness simply to have the same difficulties with the British Government over again; they wanted independence. So more of them went farther north again, and crossed the Vaal.¹ At the same time the Kaffirs rose again, and Moshesh in Basutoland grew restless as he saw that if the British sovereignty con-

¹ A considerable number of Boers were already beyond the Vaal in 1847.

tinued he would never be able to get what he had been aiming at, the chieftainship over the whole country. Therefore, the British determined to come to some agreement with the Dutch ; and in January 1852 the Sand River Convention was signed by which the Dutch across the Vaal were to be free to manage their own affairs without any interference. In this way those who wished to live under the British flag could live in the Orange River Sovereignty ; those who did not wish to live under the British flag could cross into the Transvaal. Both parties could live side by side in peace and goodwill.

Then the British sent troops to suppress the Basuto rising. Moshesh who was getting old, did not want war ; he knew it could only end in his defeat. But his young men were confident, and he had to give way. Basutoland, with its high mountains and narrow valleys, is very difficult country for white troops to fight in, and the British officers were careless. There were one or two ' regrettable incidents '. Then Moshesh, like the cunning old diplomatist that he was, sent a polite message saying he did not want war, and offered to surrender. The British commander welcomed this favourable ending to an awkward situation. But the effect of this Basuto war on England was unfortunate. It was imagined that it was another ' war of aggression ' on behalf of settlers greedy for land (as a matter of fact it was the settlers who had opposed the war, and the Governor who had insisted on it) ; a Commissioner was sent out from England to decide whether it would not be better to withdraw from the Orange River Sovereignty. He came out with the fixed idea in his head that the Dutch there wanted independence. Nothing that the Dutch and British settlers could say or do could alter his conviction ; all who clung to the British connexion—the majority—were termed ' obstructionists ' and treated as disloyal ; in February 1854 British sovereignty over the Orange River territory was withdrawn.

The difficulty of dealing with the Kaffirs suggested to

the British Government the appointment as Governor of Sir George Grey, who had shown in New Zealand his peculiar genius for dealing with native races. On his arrival he found, in addition, this problem of the Dutch in the north. The Dutch in the Transvaal had found it very difficult to set up a satisfactory government. They wanted to live their own



THE KAFFIR WAR, 1851. Defeat of the Tambookies by the Cape Troops

life on their farms and did not relish paying taxes or undertaking any of the other obligations of citizenship. Likewise in the Orange Free State on the withdrawal of the British all had fallen into confusion. Meantime in 1854 Representative Government had been granted to Cape Colony, and the franchise had been given not only to Dutch and British alike but also to the natives. To Grey, the ideal solution of the difficulties with the Dutch in the north was the federation of South Africa. Under it they could keep their local inde-

pendence and at the same time have the security of settled government. It would ensure the peace, progress, and development of South Africa as a whole—and that was to the advantage of Dutch and British alike. Indeed, to such an extent did the Dutch agree, that the Free State Volksraad passed a resolution, in 1858, in favour of some closer connexion with the Cape. But it was not to be : the withdrawal of British sovereignty had been proclaimed and must be maintained. Sir George Grey was curtly told that his ideas of federation must be dropped ; South Africa had to endure another fifty years of bitterness before she attained her Union.

Unable to carry out his own solution of the difficulties with the Dutch, he was brilliantly successful in dealing with the Kaffirs. The chiefs were made salaried officials of the Government, to act as magistrates over their own peoples. That gave them occupation and responsibility, which was good for them, and importance, which they dearly loved. All forms of industrial training were encouraged, since Sir George Grey believed (and all who have to do with the civilizing of backward races agree with him) that the most important thing to teach natives is the dignity of honest work. To deal with the evil of the ' smelling-out ' of witches (and as the property of a ' witch ' was confiscated by the chief, it was dangerous to grow too rich), a hospital was founded at King Williamstown where all natives could be treated, if necessary, by European doctors.

It was well that a man who understood natives was at the head of the Government, for in 1856 there swept over the Kaffirs one of those strange fits of madness to which these child-races are liable. A Kaffir girl, going one day to draw water, came back with a strange tale. She had seen beneath the water faces—the faces of long-dead heroes ; they had told her a word of power. The day was at hand when the Kaffir people would thrust back the white men into the sea, and the heroes of the spirit-world would return to be their leaders. Then there would appear countless herds and rich crops

ready for the reaping, only first they must have faith, and slay their cattle, and destroy their grain. The spirits were obeyed : the command went forth : the Kaffirs slew and ate : on the appointed day they awaited the rising of the double sun that was to be the signal. The sun rose and set ; at its setting a shudder of despair passed over the waiting multitude—the spirits had been false spirits ; death by starvation awaited them. Grey had attempted to persuade them of their folly, but in vain. He had then collected troops to guard the settlements, and prepared supplies of food. As the starving multitudes crawled across the border they were fed and tended ; but in spite of all his care, out of 105,000 persons, nearly 70,000 died. This was practically the end of the long series of Kaffir wars ;¹ in 1865 British Kaffraria was annexed to Cape Colony.

No sooner was this settled than another difficulty arose in the north. A child one day playing on his father's farm picked up a shining pebble which he kept as a plaything. A trader, seeing it, was struck with its appearance ; he sent it to the Cape to be examined and it proved to be a magnificent diamond which was sold for many thousands of pounds. Thus began in 1867 the discovery of diamond deposits in South Africa. One field lay north of the Vaal on land which had long been in dispute between the Transvaal and Bechuana tribes. In 1871 the question was referred to the arbitration of Keate, the Governor of Natal, who on the evidence before him decided against the Transvaal. But the more valuable area lay south of the Vaal. The ownership of this was claimed by the Orange Free State and also by Waterboer, chief of the Griquas, a mixed race of half-castes. The latter put himself under British protection and the land was annexed by Sir H. Barkley as Griqualand West. The Free State was furious but helpless, and finally in 1876 President Brand, who had behaved with great moderation, accepted £90,000 as compensation to terminate the dispute. Thus opened a new phase of the

¹ There was one more Kaffir rising, 1877-8.

question, henceforth to be perhaps the most important in South African politics, of the route to the interior.

Cecil Rhodes said, in 1888, that the key to all the problems of the relations of the various States with each other lay in the possession of the interior,—‘I believe that whatever state possesses Bechuanaland and Matabeleland will possess South Africa.’ At this period—1867—no one had clearly thought



A DIAMOND MINE ON THE REEF

out the problem, as Rhodes was driven to do later. But on both sides there was a vague consciousness of the direction in which affairs were moving. The Orange Free State found itself threatened by the power of Moshesh in Basutoland and made war upon him. He consequently put himself under the protection of Great Britain. This the Free States took as an ‘unfriendly act’, and, coinciding with the dispute over the possession of the newly-discovered diamond fields, it caused decided irritation with the British Government. Similar ill-

feeling was growing up in the Transvaal, which was attempting to extend its boundaries on the north, west, and east—in the latter case a claim was made for access to the sea at Delagoa Bay. The ownership of this last territory was assigned in 1875 to Portugal by the French President, to whom the matter had been referred for arbitration ; and, by a previous agreement with Great Britain, Portugal had guaranteed that if



KETSCHWAYO

Delagoa Bay were to be awarded to her, she would not part with it to any third power. But the fact that this eastern territory was in the hands of Portugal made the ownership of the land to the west of the Transvaal still more important.

At this moment the Transvaal was in a pitiable state. The Government was so weak as hardly to be a Government at all, practically bankrupt, and in perpetual

difficulties with the surrounding natives. The Zulus under Ketschwayo were becoming restless, and war with them seemed imminent. In that case, the position of the Transvaal would be serious and ' Her Majesty's Government dared not suffer a white State to become subdued by the coloured races '. Disraeli in England had recently laid down, as one of the principles of his new Conservative party, the policy of ' strengthening the bonds of Empire ',¹ and Lord Car-

¹ Disraeli laid down the programme of the new Conservatism in two speeches—at Manchester and at the Crystal Palace—in 1872 ; it might be summed up as ' the Constitution, the Empire, and Social Reform '. But the part of the Empire in which he was most interested was India. It was Lord Carnarvon, the Colonial Secretary, who was anxious to apply federation to South Africa, since the Federation of Canada, passed during his previous tenure of office, was proving a great success. Disraeli's views are expressed with some frankness in a letter from Corry to Sir H. Ponsonby : ' Lord Beaconsfield is extremely dissatisfied

narvon had been aiming for two years at the Union of the South African Colonies and States. Therefore in 1877 Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the Transvaal to England, as the only remedy against 'anarchy' in that part of the country and as a step towards federation; 'under no circumstances', he said, 'would the British rule ever be withdrawn.'

Then the Zulu war broke out; in 1879 an English column marching against them, with criminal negligence allowed itself to be surrounded and was practically annihilated at Isandlwana. The heroic defence of Rorke's Drift by 130 soldiers against 4,000 Zulus saved Natal, till reinforcements could be hurried up; the Zulus were defeated at Ulundi, and Ketschwayo was made a prisoner. Shortly afterwards, in 1887, Zululand was annexed. But the British defeat at Isandlwana had sharpened the Transvaal's resistance. All the old national feeling against the British Government had been awakened; strong in the feeling that God was on their side, the flag of the Transvaal Republic was hoisted once again on Dingaan's Day, 1880, and war was declared. The disaster of Majuba Hill followed. Gladstone came into power in the same year; to him the annexation of the Transvaal was 'the invasion of a free people' and he decided that it must be repudiated. Finally, at the Convention of London in 1884 the South African Republic was granted a considerable measure of independence, though foreign treaties were to be subject to British ratification.¹ The annexation had been

with all that has taken or is taking place at the Cape. The troubles commenced by Lord Carnarvon (who, he says, lived mainly in a coterie of Editors who praised him and drank his claret) sending Mr. Froude—a desultory and theatrical littérateur who wrote more rot on the reign of Elizabeth than Gibbon required for all his *Decline and Fall*—which resulted naturally in a Kaffir war.'—Monypenny and Buckle, vi. 419.

¹ In view of subsequent events, it is important that the position of the Republic under the Convention of London should be appreciated. Article IV stated: 'The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any state or nation . . . until the same has been approved by Her Majesty's Government.' Article XIV stated:



A GROUP OF ZULUS



RORKE'S DRIFT, see p. 159. On the right is the Hospital; on the left the little cemetery with a white stone in the centre

unwise, and the manner of its repudiation still more unwise. In 1877 there were some who welcomed the coming of the British power: in 1884 there were none who regretted its going.



LAING'S NEK, showing Boer entrenchments below Majuba

At the same time (1883) that Paul Krüger was elected to the Presidency of the Transvaal, an office which he was to

'All persons other than natives . . . conforming themselves to the laws of the Transvaal State (a) will have full liberty with their families to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the Transvaal State; (b) they will be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, &c.; (c) they may carry on their commerce in person or by any agents . . .; (d) they will not be subject in respect to their persons or property or in respect of their commerce or industry to any taxes whether general or local other than those to be imposed upon Transvaal citizens.'

The Republic, therefore, lacked any power of discrimination in respect of immigrants; and commenting on Article IV Professor de Loijeter, of Utrecht University, states: 'It would be idle to deny that Article IV of this convention . . . prevents the Republic from being counted among states really sovereign and independent.'—*Revue de Droits Internationals*, 1896.

hold until the fall of the Republic, there was rising into prominence in politics at the Cape the man who was to be his great antagonist in the struggle of the next twenty years ; the prize for which they fought was the sovereignty of a united South Africa. Rhodes and Krüger had much in common ; both had the vision of a greater South Africa, both realized the importance that the Northern Territories would play in this development, and worked with equal persistence to obtain them. But with Krüger's doggedness went a certain narrowness ; his interests were purely Dutch. Rhodes had many faults ; sometimes he was tempted into the fatal error of thinking that the end justified the means. But his vision was always a splendid one ; British and Dutch were to him all one if they would co-operate in the working out of his great idea, a United South Africa freely governing herself and taking her rightful place in the British Commonwealth.¹ He sleeps in the Matoppo Hills, in a place of wide prospect which looks out over the land he won ; on the stone is graved ' Cecil Rhodes : He loved and served South Africa '.

The Transvaal's attempt at expansion to the sea eastwards was checked by the extension of British influence over Amatongaland in 1887 (annexed 1895). In 1883 Germany had established herself on the west at Angra Pequena ; her avowed intention was to expand her power eastwards to Delagoa Bay. It was therefore upon the possession of the narrow strip of territory in Eastern Bechuanaland, called by Boer freebooters Stellaland and Goshen, that the open door to the north depended. It was, in Rhodes's phrase, ' the Suez Canal ' of South Africa. Both sides realized its importance simultaneously. Rhodes had in Sir Hercules Robinson, the British Commissioner, a willing co-operator. The reversion of the district was secured for the Cape, the Transvaal

¹ ' I believe in a United States of South Africa, but as a portion of the British Empire.'—April 25th, 1881.

That is what we are working for, not only the Union of the country, but union of the races.'—July 18th, 1899.

was compelled to withdraw its agents, and in 1885 British authority was proclaimed over Bechuanaland right up to Matabeleland.

In the 'seventies there had been a revival of Dutch nationalism at the Cape which, as a result of the annexation of the Transvaal, had become strongly anti-British. This found expression in a political party called the *Africander Bond*, which aimed at an independent Dutch South Africa. But Mr. Jan Hofmeyr, who played a prominent part in Cape politics, had a wider ideal of racial co-operation, and he succeeded in modifying the policy of the Bond in accordance with his own views. He wished to co-operate with the British on the one side and with the Republics on the other. Krüger in the Transvaal, however, took up an irreconcilable attitude. He would have no connexion with the British or with those associated with them, and he aimed at a State absolutely independent politically and economically with its own outlet through Delagoa Bay. Therefore the Cape's proposals for a Railway and Customs Union were refused. The discovery of gold in the Transvaal (1885), followed by a rush of immigrants from all countries, strengthened Krüger's attitude. He determined that the government of the Transvaal should be kept in Boer hands and that the *Uitlanders*¹ should not be allowed to have a vote. Rhodes's outlook was in many respects similar to that of Hofmeyr. He wanted a United South Africa produced as a result of co-operation between Dutch and British, and he was not friendly to direct control exercised from Downing Street. He therefore formed a political alliance with Hofmeyr and the Bond for the promotion of his schemes of federation and expansion.²

¹ The name given to white men not of Boer origin, who had settled in the Transvaal mainly in connexion with the mining industry.

² 'You (the *Africander Bond*) can be assured, and assure others, that there is no difference between my policy and yours, because when you founded your society you founded it, not on a basis of a local idea but on a basis of a broad united South Africa. The mistake

Having secured the open door to the north, the next thing to do was to make use of it. Rhodes had amalgamated the big diamond companies at Kimberley into the De Beers Consolidated Mines; Barnato, Beit, Philipson Stow, and himself were life governors, owning practically all the shares. But Barnato wanted the company to be concerned solely with diamonds; Rhodes intended the profits to be available for his scheme of northern expansion. He met Beit and Barnato, and argued the matter out with them. It was a long sitting; at last, at four o'clock in the morning, the latter gave way. 'Some men', said Barnato, 'have a fancy for one thing and some for another; you have a fancy for making an Empire, and I suppose we must let you have your way.' That was in 1888; a treaty had been arranged in the same year with Lobengula the Matabele chief, by which he undertook to have no dealings with any foreign power, without Great Britain's consent. Rhodes then went to London and after considerable difficulty obtained a Royal Charter for the British South Africa Company, which was to develop the territories now known as Rhodesia. It was a favourable opportunity. The International Conference of 1884 at Berlin, to deal with the Congo question, had brought the question of the future development of Africa very much before the public notice; the first British Colonial Conference of 1887 had aroused interest in imperial matters. It was the age of chartered Companies; the North Borneo, the Niger, and the East Africa Companies were all formed about the same time, and they did excellent work as 'skirmishers' on the fringes of the Empire, undertaking responsibilities which then the Treasury would not have felt justified in assuming.

that has been made in the past is to think that a union can be made in half an hour.'—March 30th, 1891.

Rhodes entered the Cape Parliament in 1880; but from 1885-90 he had not taken an active part in politics. In 1890 he threw himself into Parliamentary work, and on the fall of Sir Gordon Sprigg's ministry in that year became Premier.

In 1890 the British South Africa Company's expedition set out for the occupation of 'Rhodesia'. Marching with extreme vigilance, it reached Salisbury without incident. The laying of telegraph wires and the building of a railway to Beira were undertaken with all speed, and the latter was opened in 1893. But now a serious matter confronted the new settlement. Lobengula had allowed the column passage past Matabeleland to Mashonaland, but had forbidden them



NATAL. Communications in the 'seventies

to settle in his own kingdom ; even to do this had strained his authority over his ' young men ' to the uttermost. They had been wont to raid the timid Mashonas at their pleasure, and resented the presence there of white men. The white men equally felt that the existence of the Matabele power was a hindrance to what they would have called the ' development ' of the whole territory. War broke out in 1893. The terms offered by Jameson, Rhodes's representative, to those who enlisted were distinctly generous : six thousand acres of land per man, the right to gold-mining claims, and a share in the captured cattle. This would have worked out at the equivalent of nearly £10,000 per man. Nor was this all.

The British South Africa Company ultimately laid claim to the whole of the native lands not in the possession of white settlers—in all, some 72,000,000 acres. This attempt to deprive an entire race of their ownership of the land is without precedent in British colonial history and forms a serious blemish on the record of the Company.

Meantime the Uitlanders in the Transvaal were getting more and more restive ; they contended that they were made to contribute the main part of the revenue of the State but were allowed no share in the government of it. The Dutch answer was, that the foreigner had not been asked to come ; if he did not like the conditions, he was free to go. The Dutch were a pastoral people, and considered the discovery of gold as anything but an unmixed blessing. Rhodes, then Prime Minister of Cape Colony, was faced with the great moral crisis of his life ; there was offered to him the temptation of what appeared to be a ' short cut ' to end his difficulties with the Transvaal. Jameson should invade the Transvaal from the west, join hands with the Uitlanders, overthrow the Dutch Government and proclaim British sovereignty. The Union of South Africa would be complete. In December 1895 the attempt was made ; it was a complete fiasco. Jameson started before the Uitlanders in Johannesburg were ready ; his force was surrounded by the Dutch and compelled to surrender, and the Uitlanders had to lay down their arms. The whole of Jameson's force was taken to England, where the leaders were put on trial, and condemned.

It had been a fatal error, deplorable from every point of view. At the Cape the co-operation between Rhodes and the Bond abruptly stopped. The Transvaal saw in it, not unnaturally, an attempt to capture their State ; whether Mr. Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, had been entirely ignorant of the plan, is still uncertain. The question of British rights of suzerainty over the Transvaal was revived in the course of the negotiations. This did not tend to allay Dutch apprehension. They began to arm.

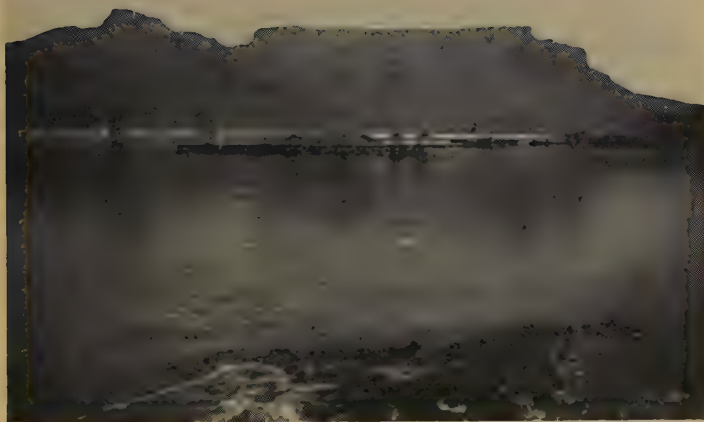
The raid had equally unfortunate consequences in Rhodesia. Practically all the armed forces had been withdrawn for the attempt on the Transvaal, and the Matabeles seized the opportunity to rise. For a time the situation was critical, till a force could be collected to suppress them. Beaten in the field, the Matabeles retired to the Matoppo Hills, and from this broken ground, of which they knew every nook and cranny, General Carrington decided it would be almost impossible to dislodge them. In this difficulty Rhodes offered to try what his influence could do. He had resigned his Premiership at the Cape in consequence of the raid, and had attached himself as a volunteer to the relief force. Leaving the main body, he camped with two companions at the foot of the hills. They were quite unarmed, and their little camp might have been rushed at any moment. But his fearless confidence had its effect ; the chiefs knew and liked him. After long waiting they came down and the famous Indaba took place, in which grievances were discussed, misunderstandings explained. Then Rhodes said, ' All that is of the past ; now for the future. Is it peace or war ? ' The chiefs replied, ' We give you our word ; it is peace. The war is over.' They kept their promise. Under a policy whereby the chiefs have been made salaried officials of the Company, and powers entrusted to them to keep their ' young men ' in order, the natives have settled down, and the peace of the country has never seriously been disturbed since.¹

Elsewhere events did not have so fortunate an ending. The question of the position of the Uitlanders in the Transvaal became acute ; certainly they had very serious grievances. Steyn, the President of the Orange Free State, invited President Krüger and Milner, the British High Commissioner, to a conference at Bloemfontein to discuss the matter. Milner wanted the Republic to grant the Uitlanders a vote and a

¹ Two of the things that made for better administration in Southern Rhodesia from 1896 onwards were the arrival of Sir Albert (afterwards Earl) Grey, Rhodes's good angel, and much closer imperial control.

share in the representative institutions of the country, after five years' residence. This was declined, because it was felt that in this way control of the government would pass out of Dutch hands. In October 1899 Krüger, backed by Steyn, presented an ultimatum that the movement of British troops should cease ; when this was refused he declared war.¹ The Boers reckoned that they would be able to sweep down into Natal and the Cape and join hands with the Dutch party there, before Great Britain could send out reinforcements. In this they were disappointed : they were checked by the resistance of Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking, and they received no serious help from the Cape. For a time the British forces were equally unsuccessful in their attempted advance ; Sir Redvers Buller received several checks, notably at Colenso, and was unable to relieve Ladysmith. Then Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were sent out. They advanced in overwhelming force in the direction of Kimberley ; the Boer Commandant Cronje called up reinforcements from Ladysmith to meet the new attack. But largely owing to the forced marches of the cavalry under French, Cronje and his army were surrounded and forced to surrender at Paardeberg (February 27th, 1900). The British rode into Ladysmith, Mafeking was relieved ; after a magnificent march Roberts entered Pretoria on June 5th and the most serious fighting was over. A certain number of Boers still maintained an irregular warfare under the brilliant generalship of De Wet, De la Rey, and Botha. But by a system of blockhouses and drives many were captured, and in 1902 the Peace of Vereeniging was agreed to on behalf of the Republics by Botha, Smuts, De Wet, and Hertzog. By this the independence of the Republics came to an end ; but as soon as circumstances should permit, representative institutions were to be introduced, leading up to responsible parliamentary government, and the Dutch language might be used in schools and courts of law.

¹ It is noteworthy that in this war the Dominions sent contingents, amounting in all to 30,000 men, to the aid of the British forces.



THE CHIEF PORTS OF SOUTH AFRICA
Above, Cape Town. Below, Durban

Although for a short time both the Transvaal and Orange River Colony were governed as Crown colonies, direct from Downing Street, it was realized that this could only be a temporary measure ; and with a wise generosity full responsible self-government was granted them in 1906. This was a fulfilment of the promise of the Treaty of Vereeniging, more prompt and more complete than the Dutch anticipated, and in its recognition of the Dutch as fellow citizens in the British Commonwealth entitled to all the political liberties upon which the British pride themselves, it was a very happy augury for the future. Thus there were in South Africa four self-governing Provinces—the Cape, Natal (which had been granted responsible government in 1893), the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony. But all four were in many ways very dependent on each other ; the native problem required uniform treatment, and it was highly desirable that an agreement should be come to with regard to railways and customs duties. There were conferences between the colonies on these subjects in 1906–8 ; as a result a scheme for the Union of South Africa was drawn up which came into force in 1910. By this, the four colonies are united under a single Parliament ; each Province has a Council to deal with purely local matters, somewhat like a County Council in England. Thus the Constitution of South Africa is a unitary one, not as in the case of Canada and Australia, a federal one. The first Union Parliament met in November 1910, with Louis Botha as Premier and Smuts as Minister for the Interior.

Rhodesia, however, did not join the Union. In 1898 she had received a measure of representative government, under a Commissioner, with an Executive Council, and a partly elected Legislative Council. But although Rhodesia cordially supported the idea of a Union—and indeed the formation of that Union was one of the reasons for the settlement of the northern territory—she felt that the time was not ripe for her to enter it. The country was too new and too undeveloped to enable her to have that weight in the Union to which her

resources entitled her. Recently Southern Rhodesia has decided to have responsible government as a separate unit, and not yet to enter the Union of South Africa. But it is probable that in time she will join the other four provinces and the ideal of Cecil Rhodes and Sir George Grey, the unification of all South Africa under the British flag, will be complete.

The advantages of the Union are strikingly shown in the development of the prosperity of South Africa. There has been a great increase in railway construction—and in a country where there are practically no navigable rivers, railway communication is of very great importance. Special attention has been paid to the breeding of horses, cattle, and sheep; experimental farms and agricultural colleges have been founded, and common measures have been taken to deal with the insect pests which have been such a scourge to South Africa. But with the outbreak of war with Germany the effects of the Union were even more convincingly shown. With some exceptions, the Dutch no less than the British realized that in fighting against Germany they were fighting for their own liberties. A small party were in revolt against the British connexion, but it was not necessary for British troops to be kept in South Africa; the Union troops under General Botha crushed the rising and then undertook with brilliant success the conquest of German South-west Africa and German East Africa. The South African contingent fought with distinction in Europe. This brotherhood in arms of Dutch and British has marked a further stage in the removal of a feeling of hostility between the two races, though in parts distrust lingers still. Its clearest political manifestation is the Nationalist Party under General Hertzog, with a programme roughly amounting to independence. In the general election of February 1921, this party was beaten at the polls, and General Smuts, the new Premier, has the opportunity of crowning the great services he has rendered to the Commonwealth in the field and in the council chamber, by achieving the complete reconciliation of the two races.



VIII

EAST AND WEST AFRICA

THE exploration of tropical Africa was one of the most fascinating and important events of the nineteenth century. Almost within the lifetime of those now living, Africa had been thought of as a hollow shell, and its coast-lines seemed to derive their importance from the seas which they bounded—the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Indian Ocean—rather than from the lands of the interior. But as the explorers wrested from the continent its secrets one by one, there was found the solution of such geographical problems as the source of the Nile, the Niger, and the Congo. The study of the African peoples has shown how far-reaching was the influence of early Egyptian and Arabic civilization. The appreciation of the value of these tropical lands to the industrial nations of Europe led to a scramble among the Great Powers for ‘spheres of influences’ in Africa which has had important and in some cases disastrous effects on the diplomacy of our own day.¹

The key to the history of tropical Africa in its early days is the immigration from the east and north-east of races of Asiatic origin. This immigration of Hamites (as they are commonly called) took place perhaps about 5,000 B.C. and their descendants, varied according to the extent with which they have mixed with the original negroes, are found mostly

¹ It is generally admitted that the struggle for possessions in Africa was a contributory cause of the late war.

in the north tropical zone. On the west they are represented by the Fulani, a tall beautifully built race with reddish yellow skins who spread eastward into Hausaland from their original home in Futa in the west and took with them a style of architecture in mud, plaster, and brick which shows obvious evidence of Egyptian origin. In East Africa the effect of the Hamitic invasion is seen in the Abyssinians, and a little farther south, round the Victoria and Albert Nyanza in the Wahima, a tall handsome race of light-skinned negroids who have the features of Egyptians but the woolly hair of the negro. In each case the Hamitic blood shows itself in a greater power of political organization and in a higher intellectual development.

The original negro stock presents a bewildering variety of types—one village of a few hundred inhabitants may speak a language unintelligible to the next village which is only a day's journey away. Happy and thriftless, the negro lives in the moment and has little power of self-control or of organization; but under sympathetic guidance he proves himself 'an apt pupil and a faithful friend'. South of a line running roughly from Fernando Po on the west to Mombasa on the east, although physical variations are still found, the speech all belongs to a single language family, the Bantu. This probably points to an invasion from the north; but no complete explanation has yet been forthcoming.

Many different stages of development are therefore to be found among the peoples of tropical Africa, and the more advanced communities owe a great deal of their progress to Muhammadanism, which was readily accepted by the Hamite races and by those akin to them. In the north-west it was brought by the Berbers (the people of North Africa) in the eighth century, and in the east it was introduced by Arabs from the Persian Gulf. Muhammadanism preaches the triumph of force and appeals to the African's vanity and love of ostentation; it accepts many native practices such as slavery, and it is spread by people who in race and outlook are not



Et comperta sunt, tranquilla, Anomala vivunt.
Tantum Elephantibus Elephantis, adire mos est.

Et tunc, quod, animi, omne, Ferunt.
Lion, Leo, Bos, Elephas, Strutho, Cervus.

B.

AFRICA. From an illustration early in the 17th century drawn by Stradanus

dissimilar from their converts. The teaching is simple and concrete, and lays down definite regulations not only for religious observance but for the daily conduct of social life. It has brought with it a written language and some of the ideas of law and culture which were prevalent in the great centres of Arabic civilization. It has raised the moral standard and developed dignity and self-respect. As a religion it cannot rise to great spiritual heights, but its very limitations commend it to the African nature. 'It has been the most effective instrument in moulding the intellectual, social, and political character of the millions whom it has brought under its influence . . . It is the most effective educational force in Negroland.'¹ Christianity has had a harder fight. Peace, humility, and brotherhood even with the outcast, are not ideas which appeal to the negro; and he has found the truths of Christianity somewhat abstract and difficult to grasp. It has been preached in the main by men of alien race and it has tended in the past to denationalize its converts. To-day missionaries more and more discourage the adoption of European dress and habits by Christian natives and impress upon them that their Christianity should make them better *Africans*. In connexion with most missions there is a school and an industrial training institution where natives are taught such skilled trades as building, carpentry, printing, side by side with the development of their native crafts. Medical missionaries are bringing ease to body and mind of the fetish-ridden Africans, terrorized by witch doctors and medicine-men. Thus successive groups of natives learn something of a new standard of life and realize the satisfaction of constructive labour. But apart from all the other blessings which Christianity has brought, tropical Africa owes the missionaries an incalculable debt of gratitude for having brought about the suppression of slave-raiding.

One result of the influence, religious and educational, of

¹ Dr. Blyden, a distinguished native African writer, in *West Africa before Europe*, pp. 30, 74.



Europe on tropical Africa has been the creation of a class of Europeanized Africans, mainly on the west coast. Some have been educated in England as doctors and barristers ; but the majority, whose education has not reached an advanced stage, are employed as clerks in government offices or in business houses. In Nigeria about 7,000 are employed in the Government departments, drawing a total salary of about £500,000 a year. Half the unofficial members of the Legislative Council of the Colony and of the Town Council of Lagos are natives, and their services are often valuable. There are many newspapers owned and edited by natives, though the influence exerted by them is often unwise and tends to stir up race bitterness. But this class of the community does not represent the rest of the natives ; it is a race apart. It is very desirable that the natives should actively participate in the duties of citizenship, and should play an important part in the development of their race. But ' progress must be along the lines of our own institutions, the intellectual development must be of his own powers. The present policy makes the African a caricature.' ¹

The importance of West Africa in early days depended on trade which centred on Jenné and Timbuktu. Jenné, an island city on the Upper Niger in a district of wonderful fertility and possessing easy transport by water, drained the trade of the whole Sudan. Its original founders had probably migrated westward from Meroe on the Upper Nile, itself the birthplace of Egyptian civilization. The branch depot was Timbuktu, which had begun about the year 1100 as a permanent encampment for the Berber nomads of the Sahara. The Jenné merchants realized its possibilities, and it became the great market for the caravans from the North African coast—' the meeting-place of all who travel by canoe or camel.' ²

¹ Dr. Blyden, op. cit. See Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, chap. iv.

² The *Tarik-es-Sudan* (the Chronicle of the Sudan) by Ahmed Baba, a professor at the Sankoré University. Published 1640.

'Timbuktu is like a port with bonded docks situated on the coast of an opulent continent, with a sea of sand stretching before her upon which the fleets of the desert come and go. . . . Learned strangers flocked thither from Morocco, Tunis and Egypt. The civilization of Arabia clasped hands with the civilization of Egypt and from their union resulted the apogee of Timbuktu. . . . An immense and brilliant sky, and an immense and brilliant stretch of land, with the grand outlines of a town uniting the two: a dark silhouette, large and long, an image of grandeur in immensity—thus appeared the Queen of the Sudan.' ¹

Not only was Timbuktu wealthy; intellectually it was supreme. 'Salt comes from the North, gold and silver from the country of the white men; but the word of God and the treasures of wisdom are only to be found in Timbuktu.' So ran the Sudanese proverb. The university of Sankoré, situated in a suburb of Timbuktu, was one of the great scientific centres of Islam. Her scholars were famous for their learning, especially in Muhammadan law, and were often appointed Professors in Morocco and Egypt. Ahmed Baba himself owned 1,600 volumes, and said his library was but a small one.

The Songhai Empire was founded by Sonni Ali, in the middle of the fifteenth century. He was a great soldier who established his power over the whole of the middle Niger. Personally cruel and violent, 'his conquests were many and his renown extended from the rising to the setting of the sun. If it is the will of God, he will be long spoken of.' ² What he had conquered, his successor Askia organized. In 1495 he made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and stayed two years at Cairo, studying questions of government, taxation, and trade. He was accompanied by the most learned men in his kingdom, and thus Songhai renewed her birthright as the intellectual and political child of Egypt. His dominions extended from Lake Chad to the Atlantic, from the Southern Mountains to

¹ Felix Dubois, *Timbuktu the Mysterious*.

² *Tarik-es-Sudan*.

the borders of Morocco. Learning was encouraged and trade flourished. 'God accomplished that which the Prince desired, so that Askia was as docilely obeyed in all these states as in his own palace. Above all there reigned great plenty and absolute peace.'¹ But with wealth came luxury and in the hands of his successors the control over this vast empire was relaxed. The Moors on the north, driven back by the advancing Spaniards, determined to break through to the south. In 1600 took place the Moorish conquest of the Sudan; 'in a moment all was changed. Peaceful repose was succeeded by a constant state of fear, comfort and security by trouble and suffering. People began everywhere to fight against one another, and property and life became exposed to constant danger. This ruin at length prevailed throughout the whole region.' Thus writes Ahmed Baba, himself a prisoner in the hands of the Moroccan army. These military adventurers cut themselves loose from Morocco, and did each man what was right in his own eyes. The anarchy was complete. The north, whence the Sudan had drawn its learning and its life, was cut off; to the south lay only the dense forest and the cannibals, remnants of weaker tribes pushed southwards by successive waves of invasion from the north.² A veil descended upon the Sudan for three hundred years.

With the opening of the sea route to the east by the Portuguese in 1498, Europe's approach to West Africa was by water and not by land. They found the coastal belt fever-stricken, closed in by impenetrable forest, and inhabited by a brutish people. Their brutality was infectious. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Portuguese, English, and Dutch founded trading ports such as Accra, Elmina, and Cape Coast Castle, but the chief export was negro slaves, to supply labour to the planters in the West Indies and the American Colonies. It is an unholy record of burning villages,

¹ *Tarik-es-Sudan*.

² Thus the Pygmies, whom Herodotus knew of on the Upper Nile, were found by nineteenth-century explorers in the Central African forests.

shrieking women, and tortured men, from which a 'civilized' Europe may well recoil in horror.

Have I not reason to lament
What man has made of man?

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the conscience of England was beginning to be awakened; ¹ Sierra Leone was founded as a home for rescued slaves in 1787, and by the



THE GOLD COAST COLONY. Christiansborg, the present seat of the British Governor, of which the nucleus is an old Portuguese castle

middle of the nineteenth century the trade in slaves had been largely suppressed. When slave-trading was declared illegal for British subjects in 1807 the West Coast was neglected by the Government, though there were several settlements of British merchants there, especially on the Oil Rivers. When the native chiefs in Senegambia asked to be taken under British protection the Committee of the House of Commons which inquired into the matter reported in 1865 that 'any assumption of Government, or new treaty offering protection to native tribes would be inexpedient'. It recommended that

¹ In 1772 there was given the judicial decision that as soon as any slave set foot on English territory, he was free.

Sierra Leone should be retained as a coaling station, and that the remainder of the West Coast should be abandoned.

Fortunately the proposal was not acted upon; the great era of the exploration of Africa had begun. On the West Coast by 1830 Mungo Park had proved that the Senegal and Gambia were not mouths of the Niger, Clapperton had discovered Lake Chad, Laing had reached Timbuktú, and the



Livingstone received by an African chief, 1854, in what is now Northern Rhodesia

Lander brothers had found that the Oil Rivers were the Niger delta. In 1841 Livingstone began his work, at first primarily as a missionary, afterwards rather as an explorer. His earlier journeys had shown him something of the horrors of the slave-trade, to the suppression of which he determined to devote his life. This could most effectively be done, he felt, by the opening up of Africa and by exposing to light the dark places of the continent. Thus missionary work and exploration were to his mind two aspects of the same idea. If ever any man did, he 'walked with God', and he won

the love of the natives to an extent which no other explorer has ever equalled.

Starting from Kuruman in Bechuanaland he discovered Lake Nyami and the Upper Zambezi. He next determined to open a path to the West Coast. Journeying northwards from Kuruman as before, he followed the Upper Zambezi and crossed the watershed between that river and the Congo. Then he made his way westward to Loanda in Portuguese West Africa. On his return journey he traced the Zambezi to its mouth, discovering the Victoria Falls, and arrived at Quilimane in 1856, having traversed the continent from west to east. After a visit to England, where his discoveries had stirred popular imagination and had led to the founding of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, he returned in 1858 as British Consul at Quilimane, with a commission to explore Eastern and Central Africa. In the course of the next five years he discovered Lake Nyassa, thoroughly explored the Shiré Highlands and nearly reached Lake Bangweolo. When in 1863 Lord Russell sent him orders to withdraw he said, 'I don't know whether I am to go on the shelf or not; if I do, I make Africa the shelf.'

He started his next journey from Zanzibar in 1866. Pushing on through 'dripping forests and oozing bogs' in spite of fever and partial paralysis, made worse by the loss of all his drugs through the desertion of some porters, he reached Lake Tanganyika and discovered Lakes Mweru and Bangweolo. He explored the country round Lake Tanganyika till at length in 1871, worn out with fatigue and exposure, sick in mind and body with the horrors of the slave-raiding and cannibalism around him, he returned to Ujiji, feeling, as he said, as if he were dying on his feet. There, five days later, he was met by Stanley, sent by Gordon Bennett of the *New York Herald* to find him. Stanley wanted him to return home, but he would not, and on his last journey, to trace the Lualaba to the sea, he died in 1873.

Meantime Burton and Speke had discovered Lake Tan-

ganyika in 1858, and Speke, pushing on alone, had seen the Victoria Nyanza. Two years later, in company with Grant, he reached it, and in 1862 they found the outlet of the Nile. Acting on information supplied by them, Sir Samuel Baker discovered the Albert Nyanza and proved that the Nile flowed into it and out again. The riddle of the Nile was solved at last. Livingstone's death in the heart of Africa had made of exploration a missionary crusade and had



Sir Samuel Baker at Unyoro in Uganda, 1864

awakened in England a determination to complete his work. Stanley therefore, after circumnavigating the Victoria Nyanza, determined to trace Livingstone's river to the sea. He cut his way through the forests, he overcame the cannibal tribes which barred his path, he struggled through the two hundred miles of cataracts, till at length in 1877 he reached the Atlantic and proved his river to be the Congo.

Stanley's vivid letters from Central Africa and his challenge to Christian Europe to evangelize Uganda gave a great impetus to missionary enthusiasm. Manufacturers, in an age of increasing industrial competition, were interested in the commercial possibilities of the new discoveries. Leopold II

of Belgium, for whose restless ambition his own kingdom was too small, determined to utilize both motives, and in 1876, while Stanley was still in Central Africa, he summoned a Conference at Brussels of distinguished individuals from all the European nations, who agreed to form an International African Association, to explore and civilize Africa. They acted, however, merely in a private capacity and in no way pledged the Governments of their respective countries. Stanley on his return was welcomed by a representative of King Leopold, and the Congo Committee was founded. On its behalf Stanley went back to the Congo, and spent the next five years establishing settlements on the river, up to the Stanley Falls.

As a result of the Franco-Prussian War, France, defeated in Europe, was looking to Africa to re-establish her power and prestige. She had a strong hold on Algeria and Senegambia, and a settlement in the Gabun. Her aim therefore was to extend southwards from Algeria, eastwards from Senegambia to the Upper Niger, and from the Gabun to the Congo. A French explorer, de Brazza, began to establish stations on the Congo in 1879, with a view to securing that river for France. Portugal also claimed the Congo, on the grounds of prior discovery. But it was felt by all the Powers to be intolerable that Portugal should monopolize the great river she had done nothing to explore; and Portugal finally agreed that the question should be referred to a Conference of the Powers, which met in November 1884 at Berlin, under the presidency of Bismarck.

For some time German traders had been active on the West Coast and there had been a strong movement in Germany in support of the formation of German colonies as an outlet for her rapidly increasing population and trade. This had led to the annexation of Damaraland and Namaqualand; this was followed by the assertion of a German protectorate over Togoland and the Cameroons in July 1884, though England, thanks to the action of (Sir) Taubman Goldie and the United

African Company, secured the Oil Rivers. At the Berlin Conference it was agreed that there should be freedom of trade to all nations within the region watered by the Congo, under the control of an International Navigation Commission ; that there should be freedom of navigation on the Niger under the influence of Britain ; that occupation of any territory must be effective in order to be valid, and that it should be permissible for Powers to mark out ' Spheres of Influence '. The partition of Africa had begun. Simultaneously with the Conference came the recognition of the Congo Free State, with King Leopold as its chief. But the international character of the state soon became a fiction ; for practical purposes it was a Belgian colony and was left by King Leopold at his death to the Belgian nation.

The rivalry that had developed on the West Coast spread to the east. Zanzibar was the great trade centre, and the influence of its Sultan stretched right up to the shores of Tanganyika. At his Court Sir John Kirk, the British Agent, was all-powerful, and in 1878 the Sultan had offered to Sir W. Mackinnon, the chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company, the control of commerce throughout his dominions. This offer, however, the Beaconsfield Government would not authorize him to accept. British missions had been established on the Shiré, on Lake Nyassa, and in Uganda, and Britain had taken the leading part in the suppression of the slave-trade. But though her influence was predominant, she had no official position, and in the critical year 1884 her attention was taken up with affairs in Egypt and the Sudan.¹ It seemed therefore to Germany a favourable opportunity to acquire territory in a region she had long coveted. In the autumn of 1884 Karl Peters, an eager supporter of German colonization and a bitter opponent of England, set out with two companions disguised as mechanics in the utmost secrecy for Zanzibar. Within a month they had

¹ General Gordon was dispatched to the Sudan, January 1884. See pp. 210-12.

concluded ' treaties ' with the independent chiefs and acquired rights over a vast block of territory west from Bagamoyo. Hurrying back to Berlin, Peters founded the German East Africa Company in February 1885 to develop these concessions ; a fortnight later the German Emperor formally took under his protection all lands acquired, or which might be acquired, by the German Society of Colonization.

Germany justified her action by the agreement come to at the Berlin Conference, that occupation must be effective in order to be valid ; she declared that the Sultan's effective rule only extended over the coast. The British Government was prepared to welcome the co-operation of Germany in the development of Africa, and in 1886 an Anglo-German Committee was set up to decide the exact extent of the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar. The Sultan protested bitterly, but under threat of bombardment by a German fleet, yielded. His territories were limited to a strip ten miles wide along the coast, with the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The boundary of the German sphere of influence on the north was to be a line running from the river Umba to the Victoria Nyanza, on the south a line from the river Rovuma to Lake Nyassa. Shortly afterwards the German Company bought out the Sultan's rights over the coastal strip, an Imperial Civil Commissioner was established at Dar-es-Salaam, and Germany proceeded with great thoroughness to develop her new possession.

At the same time that the British Government informed Berlin that it would offer no objection to German activities in the territories acquired by Karl Peters, it announced that certain British business men intended to form a settlement between the coast and the Nile lakes, which were to be connected by a railway. This was the origin of the British East Africa Company, formed under the presidency of Sir W. Mackinnon. It obtained from the Sultan the administration of the coastal strip from the Umba to the Tana, and in 1888 it received a charter, on condition that any important step was to be subject to the consent of the British Government,

and that it was to take all possible means to suppress the slave-trade. The territory farther to the north-west was still officially unallotted. In Uganda a Protestant mission had been set up in 1879, followed shortly afterwards by a Roman Catholic mission backed by French influence. The latter both politically and religiously showed itself very unaccommodating; the Muhammadan element was hostile to both parties. In this state of anarchy Karl Peters thought it might be possible to set up a German supremacy and exclude Britain from the interior. He accordingly visited Uganda, and was favourably received by its king. But on his return to the coast in 1890 he found that Britain and Germany had come to an agreement about their respective spheres of influence, the latter confining herself entirely to the south of a line from the Umba to the Victoria Nyanza. Britain took Zanzibar and Pemba under her protection, and ceded Heligoland, in the North Sea, to Germany.

Uganda thus lay outside the German sphere; at the close of 1890 Captain F. D. Lugard entered the country on behalf of the Company and a treaty was signed by the king acknowledging the Company's supremacy. By tact and firmness peace was restored between the rival factions, and in a series of journeys British influence was established in the country lying between the Victoria Nyanza and the Lakes Albert and Albert Edward.

In June 1891 the Company announced that they would be compelled to withdraw from Uganda; their resources were nearly at an end and it was beyond their capacity to build the railway to the coast which was essential if the country were to be held. Bishop Tucker, of Uganda, was home on leave spending a holiday in Scotland. On the day that he received the news of the threatened withdrawal, he happened to meet Sir W. Mackinnon, who generously offered a large donation from his own pocket, that the withdrawal might be postponed a few months. Meantime public opinion was aroused; Lugard on his return home addressed crowded

meetings, and in 1892 the Government voted £20,000 for the preliminary survey for the railway and instructed its agent, Sir G. Portal, to visit Uganda and report. At the conclusion of his visit he told the Bishop that when the Company's flag was hauled down, the Union Jack would be formally hoisted. In 1894 Uganda was accordingly declared a British Protectorate, and in the following year Parliament, amid cheers, voted the construction of the railway from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza, and proclaimed a Protectorate over East Africa. It was felt that the connexion between Egypt and the country which controls the headwaters of the Nile was vital; and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had made the Red Sea one of the highways of the Empire.

The appointment of Sir H. H. Johnston as Commissioner (1900) and the opening of the Railway (1901) were the beginning of a new era in Uganda. A Hut Tax was imposed, a new system of land tenure, in place of the old semi-feudal system, was put into operation with the assistance of the National Council of Chiefs, and the chiefs were appointed salaried officials of the Crown, and made responsible for the administration of justice, the maintenance of roads, and the assessment and collection of taxes in their respective districts. The railway not only lessened the cost of imported goods—kerosin oil dropped from £5 to 5 rupees a tin—but gave native products a commercial value, since they could now be exported. Roads on which a motor service is maintained, a weekly mail, and the telegraph have brought Uganda into touch with the outside world.

On the West Coast the possessions of England, France, and Germany all converged on Lake Chad. The aim of France was to extend her Empire from the shores of the Mediterranean southwards to the Congo, and from the Congo eastwards to the Upper Nile. The object of Germany was to unite the Cameroons with Togoland and cut the Niger Company off from the interior. But in 1885 Thompson anticipated Germany in concluding treaties with the powerful Sultans of Sokoto and

Gando, and in 1894 Captain Lugard won by five days what a French newspaper described as a 'steeplechase' against the representative of France to the Chief of Nikki and secured for England the western bank of the Niger. Relations between the two countries were very strained and they became more bitter when, after the defeat of the Mahdists by Kitchener at Omdurman in 1898, a French expedition under Major Marchand crossed from the French Congo to Fashoda on the Upper Nile and attempted to claim that portion of the Sudan.¹

In 1899 an Anglo-French agreement was arrived at, whereby France was excluded from the Nile Basin, the whole of which was left under British control. Similarly the boundaries of Nigeria were fixed, and the Niger Company was bought out. The northern and southern portions of the territory were amalgamated in 1900 and Sir F. Lugard was appointed the first High Commissioner. France was left to absorb Dahomey and obtained complete control of the Upper and Middle Niger. This agreement with France was completed by the Convention of 1904, whereby, in return for the surrender of her fishing privileges in Newfoundland, France was compensated on the Gambia and in Nigeria; and it was settled that France was to have a free hand in Morocco, England a free hand in Egypt. This agreement left Germany the isolated power in Africa. Finally, in 1911, in return for her recognition of France's position in Morocco, Germany obtained an extension of her territory in the Cameroons which gave her an outlet to the sea south of the Spanish Protectorate, and access to the Congo at two points. Therefore in 1914 Germany occupied in Africa a very strong strategic position. In East Africa her territory bordered on the three great lakes, she had an outlet to the Congo and to the Zambezi, in the Cameroons she extended to Lake Chad, and in the south-west she threatened the flank of the Union of South Africa. She possessed 'the ground plan for a central African Empire'.²

By the Treaty of Versailles at the conclusion of the late war,

¹ See p. 216.

² See Lucas, *The Partition and Exploration of Africa*, p. 112.

'Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her oversea Possessions.' The Union of South Africa has been given the mandate for German South-West, Britain has been allotted German East, with the exception of a portion of it in the north-west which has been mandated to Belgium, Togoland and the Cameroons have been divided between England and

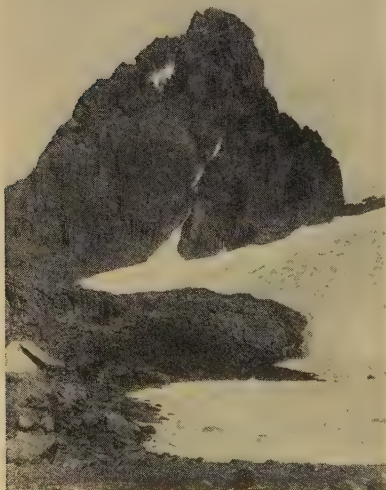


The new equatorial road (from Nairobi to Mongalla) linking Kenya with the Sudan

France, the latter obtaining the greater part. By an Order in Council June 11th, 1920, the East African Protectorate was brought directly under the Crown and renamed Kenya Colony. British possessions in Tropical Africa amount to 2,628,498 square miles with an estimated population of thirty-eight millions. But the density of population is far greater on the west than on the east; in Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and the Gambia it averages between fifty and sixty to the square mile, whereas on the east, with the exception of Zanzibar (192 per square mile), it is rarely more than ten, and in Northern Rhodesia it falls as low as 2.8. The total value of

the trade amounted in 1919 to £76,500,000.¹ An interesting feature is the development of cotton-growing on the east, Uganda having now over 500,000 acres planted.

But in the development of Tropical Africa transport has always been a prime consideration. Rivers were utilized wherever possible ; but these are often broken by rapids, and



The snow-clad peak of MOUNT KENYA

reliance had to be placed on porters. A porter can carry a load of sixty-five pounds twelve miles a day ; his wage is ninepence a day. Making allowance for the return journey, the cost of transport works out at three shillings per ton mile, which prohibits the export of any but the most valuable articles. The natives therefore cannot pay taxes, since they can obtain no market for their goods ; and a district cannot support an adequate administration. But one railway train of average length does the work of

13,000 carriers at one-twentieth the cost.² The construction of railways therefore causes markets to spring up, makes direct taxation possible and in addition reduces administrative expenditure, since it facilitates the movements of officials and troops. It is consequently the truest economy in the end. Since carriers are no longer required for transport, labour is freed for productive work, and one great source of the demand for slaves is stopped. For this reason, and because it has let light into the dark places of the continent, the railway has killed that curse of Tropical Africa, the slave-trade.

¹ Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa*, p. 45.

² *Ibid.*, chap. xxiii.

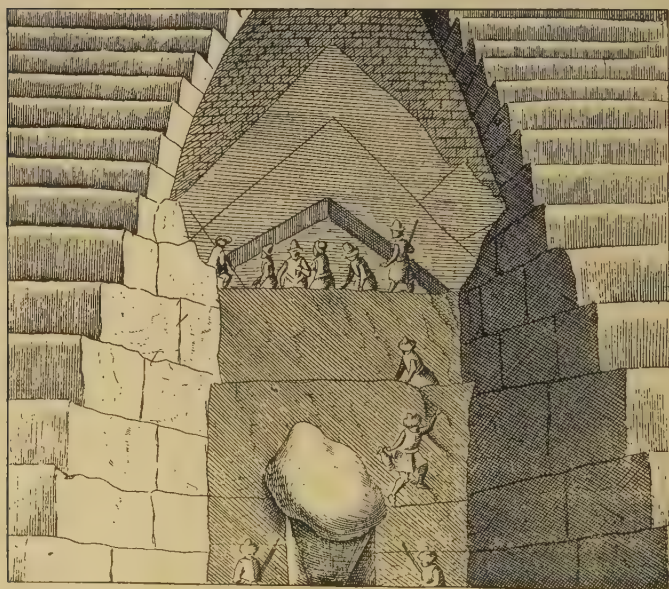


IX

EGYPT

THE Mediterranean with its land-locked waters has from the earliest times been a highway for, not an obstacle to, the intercourse of the peoples on its shores, and has provided the bridge across which traffic could pass between Europe and the East. Constantinople and Egypt stand as the two key positions which command this bridge, and thus the question of the control of Egypt has always been of importance to the European Powers. Soon after the rise of Muhammadanism in the seventh century, Egypt fell into Arab hands and became one of the great centres of Arab influence and culture in the southern and south-eastern Mediterranean lands; thus when Louis IX of France led the last great Crusade to the East for the recovery of Jerusalem, it was against Egypt that he directed his forces, as the centre of the Arab power.

The capture of Egypt by the Turks under Selim I in 1517 was an event second only in importance to their capture of Constantinople. It not only gave them the possession of the two chief keys to the Mediterranean, but it gave them a religious influence which was of incalculable value. The Arab ruler in Egypt had held the position of Kaliph—the spiritual head of Muhammadans throughout the world. This he possessed because he was held to be the actual descendant of the prophet Muhammad, and had under his control the holy



ELIZABETHAN TOURISTS at the Sphinx and the Great Pyramid, 1610. From Sandys, *Journeys*



ANCIENT EGYPT. Above, the Sphinx ; below, Tomb of
Sirenpowet



MIDDLE EGYPT. The Sacred Lake at Memphis

places of Muhammadanism, Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. Although the Turkish Sultan, his conqueror, was certainly not actually descended from the prophet, he had the practical qualification of controlling the Holy Places, and he thus came to be recognized as Kaliph. Since Muhammadans consider religion to be a binding tie strong enough to overcome differences of race, language, or culture, the Sultan is looked up to as their religious head by nearly all Muhammadans; and thus a large section of the native population of India, for example, has a very real interest in the fortunes of Turkey.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Turkish Empire stretched from Hungary to the Caspian and the Persian Gulf, from the Crimea to Egypt. But the Turk, though under good leaders an excellent soldier, has very rudimentary ideas on organization and government; his method is to put a 'Pasha' in charge of a district to obtain from it as much tribute as he can. Turkish dominion is consequently hated, it influences very little the national characteristics of a people, and it gives great opportunities to an ambitious Pasha to make himself independent.¹ The result was seen in the early years of the nineteenth century. The French Revolution with its ideals of freedom gave the impetus, a succession of unwarlike Sultans the opportunity, and the break-up of the Turkish Empire began, with revolts in the Balkans and with the liberation of Greece.

Perhaps the most powerful of the Sultan's subjects at this period was Muhammad Ali,² the ruler of Egypt. A capable soldier, more than half a barbarian, he had some statesmanlike qualities, and realized though crudely the importance of western ideas. During the Greek war of independence he had helped Turkey, since he had in mind to make himself Sultan, and did not wish his future dominions to be lessened. Soon after, in 1831, he quarrelled with Turkey, conquered Syria,

¹ Cf. the description of Turkish rule in Kinglake's *Eothen*.

² Usually but incorrectly spelt Mehemet. There is no -e or -o in the Arabic language.

and had not the European Powers intervened (Treaty of London, 1840) he might quite possibly have turned out the Sultan from Constantinople. As it was, though he was forced to give up his conquests in Syria, he was made hereditary Pasha of Egypt, and that country became practically independent though it owed a nominal allegiance and paid tribute to Constantinople.

With the accession in 1863 of Ismail Pasha, the grandson of Muhammad Ali, the Egyptian question entered on a new and important phase. The opening of the sea route to India by the Portuguese at the end of the fifteenth century had dealt a very serious blow to the trade of the Eastern Mediterranean; from a highway it became a cul-de-sac. But the cutting of the Suez Canal¹ by de Lesseps in 1869 restored Egypt to her commanding position on one of the great highways of the world. The stoppage of supplies from America owing to the Civil War had made the enormous possibilities of cotton-growing obvious even to the Egyptian fellaheen,² and till the disastrous year when the close of the American Civil War brought down the price of cotton the country 'rioted in new-found wealth'. Ismail's head was turned. He commenced to 'develop' the country. A gigantic scheme was undertaken of extending Egyptian power into the Sudan, till Ismail's authority extended nominally from Wadi Halfa in the north to the Equator in the south, from Massowa on the east to the western edge of Darfur, an area of 1,349,000 square miles, or twice as large as France and Germany put together. Throughout this vast area, part of which is very fertile, every form of cruelty and oppression was practised. Taxes in themselves harsh and unjust were extorted by brutal collectors; after them came the slave-raiders, till the condition of the country, as described by Sir Samuel Baker in 1870, was

¹ The Khedive commissioned Verdi to write *Aida* for him, and in 1872 it was produced, with barbaric splendour of appointments, at Grand Cairo.

² Fellaheen, plural of fellah, Egyptian peasant.

frightful. 'There was not a dog to howl for a lost master. Industry had vanished ; oppression had driven the inhabitants from the soil.' The Sudanese had no cause to love their Egyptian masters. Nor were conditions in Egypt itself much better ; perhaps the only real advantage was the absence of slave-hunters. The Khedive¹ regarded Egypt as his private estate from which he was entitled to make money in any way he thought fit. He actually owned nearly a million acres of the best land and had a monopoly of the manufacture of sugar. No distinction was made between his personal income and his state revenue ; in everything his word was law.

Not even Ismail's method of collecting revenue could extort from the Egyptians themselves all the money required for his schemes and for himself. The 'meanness' which shows itself in economical business methods, and in cutting one's coat according to one's cloth did not commend itself to his princely mind. The railway he commenced between Wadi Halfa and Khartum was to be of the same gauge as the railways in South Africa—'it would save trouble in the end'.² He therefore invited the help of European contractors and financiers, and not unnaturally obtained the services of many who preferred to fish in troubled waters. For a period of thirteen years, £7,000,000 a year on the average was added to the Public Debt ; and except for the Suez Canal, which cost £16,000,000, there was practically nothing to show for it. Previous oriental spendthrifts had been limited in their career of wastefulness by the actual amount they could wring from their unfortunate country. Ismail discovered the great secret of credit. Lord Milner, after weary labours spent in endeavouring to straighten out this tangle of indebtedness, has stated bitterly 'there is nothing in the financial history of any country to equal this carnival of extravagance and oppression'.

¹ The Sultan, in return for an increased tribute, had granted the use of this more exalted title.

² In this, perhaps, he was an unconscious prophet.

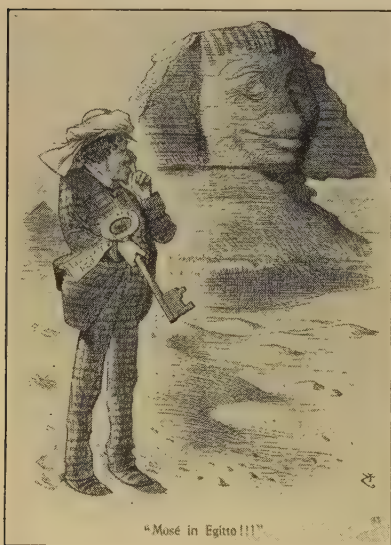
Egypt

The Khedive made a last attempt to extricate himself from his difficulties. In November 1875 he sold his shares in the Suez Canal to the British Government for £4,000,000. It was an opportunity Disraeli was delighted to accept. He had always been impressed with the importance to England of

the Eastern Mediterranean.

That importance had been incalculably increased by the opening of the Suez Canal, which became at once the highway to our growing possessions in the East. By Disraeli's purchase the control of that highway passed into British hands.

The crash came on the 8th April 1876, when the Khedive suspended payment of his Treasury Bills. He appointed a Commission of the Public Debt, to represent the interest of Europeans who had lent money to Egypt. The English Government was



Disraeli's purchase of the Suez Canal shares.

Tenniel in *Punch*, December 1875¹

invited to nominate a Commissioner but declined to do so. It did not wish officially to be dragged into a business full of diplomatic difficulties; therefore it definitely accepted no responsibility for (though it raised no objection to) the Mission which Goschen and Joubert, a Frenchman, undertook, to arrange certain modifications which the European bondholders considered desirable. In 1877 Sir Evelyn Baring, on Goschen's nomination, accepted an appointment as one of the Commissioners of the debt.

¹ By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

The Commissioners soon found themselves faced with a serious difficulty. They represented the bondholders ; but the money required to pay the interest to the bondholders could only be obtained by methods of oppression from which the Commissioners recoiled. They therefore would have preferred that payment should have been suspended ; and the English Government agreed. The French Government, however, was strongly of the opinion that the Khedive could and should pay ; and the English Government gave way to avoid a breach between the two nations at a time when the Congress of Berlin on Eastern affairs was about to meet. Experience showed that the method of raising money hitherto employed by the Egyptian Government could not be repeated. The Commissioners pressed for a full inquiry into the financial condition of Egypt ; this demand was, after much diplomatic negotiation, supported by the Powers and accepted by the Khedive in 1878.

One of the first reforms insisted upon was the principle of ministerial responsibility ; in other words, that the actual work of government should be carried on by ministers who would be responsible for the efficient conduct of their departments. This would mean that the absolute power of the Khedive would cease. At the same time a certain portion of the revenue was set aside for the personal expenses of the Khedive ; this sum was under his own control. The remainder of the revenue was under the control of the Minister of Finance, who under the new arrangement was an Englishman.¹ But the Khedive had accepted the reforms with a bad grace, and wanted them to fail. He put on an air of injured innocence, like a spoilt child. ' You asked ', he implied, ' that Ministers should be responsible. I granted it. Now see what a muddle they are in : they are actually trying to make Egypt bankrupt. Of course *they* are responsible for it all. I wash my hands of the whole business.' The real difficulty lay in the fact that in any country constitutional monarchy

¹ A Frenchman was made Minister of Public Works.

is unworkable unless the king is willing loyally to co-operate with his ministers. In a country like Egypt, where for centuries the sovereign had had absolute power, this willing co-operation was particularly essential. Instead of this the Khedive did all in his power to make things difficult for the Ministry.

In 1879 the Commission of Inquiry presented its report. The country, they said, was bankrupt, and must therefore make an arrangement with its creditors. As a contribution towards this, the Khedive must give up for the use of the State most of the estates of which he had made himself the possessor, and his personal expenditure must be limited. The Khedive refused to accept the report, dismissed his European ministers, and formed a new Egyptian ministry which was to draw up another scheme of financial reform. The situation was obviously an impossible one. In the interests of the fellaheen who, in the French Commissioner's phrase, had been 'bled white', taxation must be reduced and expenditure rigidly controlled. This the Khedive would never consent to; his so-called 'reforms' were mere window-dressing. England was honestly anxious not to be dragged in. It has been a generally accepted principle in England that if Englishmen invest money abroad they do so at their own risk; they cannot expect the Government to recover their debts for them. To do them justice the attitude of the English bondholders was reasonable enough. With the French Government, however, financial interests had greater weight, though France was unwilling to see any extension of English power in Egypt. A joint military occupation by England and France would have been bound to produce friction between the countries, a result which Germany, anxious to isolate France,¹ would have been very glad to see. The English and French Governments therefore agreed upon a compromise. They informed the Khedive that 'the sole obstacle to reform

¹ In 1875 Germany had adopted a threatening attitude towards France, which had led England and Russia to intervene on her behalf.

[in Egypt] appears to lie in the character of its ruler. His financial embarrassments lead almost inevitably to oppression, and his bad faith frustrates all friendly efforts to apply a remedy. There seems to be no doubt that a change of policy can only be obtained by a change of ruler.' They therefore advised him to abdicate. On his refusal the Sultan, whose subordinate he officially was, sent him a telegram dismissing him and appointing his son Tewfik as Khedive in his place. To induce the Sultan to do this it was diplomatically pointed out to him that it would show that Turkey still retained sovereign rights over Egypt.

With the accession of Tewfik in 1879 the situation became easier. Though he possessed no great intellectual ability or strength of character, he was sensible, anxious to do the best for his

country, and willing to co-operate with his ministers in maintaining an orderly system of administration. It was therefore possible, as in the circumstances it was plainly desirable, that he should take some personal part in the Government; he presided at the Council whenever he thought fit to do so. England and France each appointed a Controller (in the case of England, Sir E. Baring) whose powers were limited to general supervision and inspection. Their duty, as they interpreted it, was to keep in the background as far as possible.



Tenniel in *Punch*, August 1883¹

¹ By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

But there were mutterings beneath the surface. In the first place the Army was discontented. Many officers had been placed on half-pay in 1878, and nothing had been done to improve general conditions of military service. There were also complaints about the unfairness of certain promotions. In 1881 (January) the matter came to a head ; a petition was presented to the Premier demanding the dismissal of the Minister of War. The ministers decided that the two colonels who had presented the petition, Arabi and Fehmi, should be arrested. They were therefore summoned to the Ministry of War. But the news leaked out, and the colonels arranged that if they did not reappear within two hours, the troops should storm the Ministry. This actually happened ; the Khedive gave way and the unpopular minister was dismissed.

The Army was almost frightened by its success. It had learnt the dangerous secret that, if it mutinied, it could get what it wanted. For the next twelve months Arabi seemed master of the situation, and ministers were appointed and dismissed at his pleasure. But really the Army, with a guilty conscience full of suspicion, dreaded the punishment it thought must follow and its swaggering front but half concealed a very sinking heart. At the same time the other element of opposition was gaining ground. The Liberal or Nationalist party resented what they thought had been an attempt on the part of the Khedive to re-establish an absolute government, and equally resented Arabi's military dictatorship.

Turkey was anxious to intervene and reassert her sovereign rights. England was inclined to agree that, if intervention became necessary, it had better be Turkish than Anglo-French. France was strongly opposed to Turkish action. The problem as it presented itself to English statesmen and English public opinion was of this nature. ' Unless there is intervention, Egypt will be reduced to a state of anarchy. It is very undesirable that England or France should be saddled with the burden of an occupation, therefore the

intervention had better be Turkish. At the same time we know what Turkish rule means, and should be very sorry to extend it.' ¹ While England could not make up her mind on a choice between two evils, France, where the impetuous Gambetta was in charge of foreign affairs, took a decided line. England and France had been responsible for placing Tewfik on the throne and they must give him any necessary support. Interference by Turkey could not be permitted. That is, Gambetta wanted to bring Egypt under Anglo-French control. Gambetta knew what he wanted, Lord Granville, the English Foreign Minister, did not. Gambetta not unnaturally carried the day, and a joint note was presented to the Khedive on the 8th January 1882 assuring him of English and French support in the dangers which threatened him. The consequences were that the Sultan was angry at the prospect of losing Egypt altogether. The Nationalists thought it meant that the Khedive would become the puppet of England and France, and that all prospect of national independence would close; while the Army imagined that Egypt would be occupied by foreign troops and the Egyptian Army disbanded. Therefore all parties were united against England and France. Arabi was popularly exalted into the somewhat ridiculous position of a national saviour, and foreign intervention became practically inevitable. Egypt was in the hands of a military dictatorship and the situation was going from bad to worse. The English and French Controllers therefore presented a demand to the President of the Council that Arabi should leave Egypt. This the Army refused to allow, and the chiefs of religion took their side. The Khedive yielded to the Army, and Anglo-French diplomacy had failed.

The Nationalist and Militarist party thought they had

¹ 'The British Government desired to maintain Egypt in the enjoyment of the measure of administrative independence which has been secured to her by the Sultan's Firmans. . . . The only circumstance which would force H.M. Government to depart from the course of conduct which he had mentioned would be the occurrence in Egypt of a state of anarchy.'—Lord Granville to Sir E. Malet, November 1881.

scored a great triumph, and from a short-sighted point of view they had. Feeling against Europeans increased, and in June there was a massacre at Alexandria. Large numbers of Europeans and Turks, and many of the respectable Arab families left the country. Arabi was establishing a reign of terror. An English and French fleet had been for some time in Egyptian waters, and in July the British Admiral was instructed to prevent the construction by Arabi of new batteries at Alexandria, forbidden by the Sultan. France was invited to co-operate, but preferred not to do so. On July 11, after a twenty-four hours' ultimatum, the signal



British Armoured Train, near Alexandria, 1882

'Attack the enemy's batteries' was hoisted, and by 5.30 p.m. the batteries were silenced. Next day the Arabists evacuated Alexandria, firing the town in their retreat.

The explanation of the French inaction is to be found in the change of ministry which had taken place. Gambetta was only in office November 1881-January 1882. Those were critical months in Egypt. Gambetta made up his mind that the only solution lay in Anglo-French intervention; he carried the English Government somewhat reluctantly with him, and by the short note of the 8th January 1882 precipitated the crisis. But the ministry which succeeded him had very different views. They were concerned more with Europe than with Egypt, and Clemenceau in particular was suspicious that Germany was attempting to lure France into commitments in Egypt and other places with a view to weakening

and isolating her in Europe. Therefore the French Government informed Lord Granville that though they 'had no objection to our (i. e. British) advance if we decided to make it, we must not count on French co-operation'.

England had done her best not to intervene in Egypt. Her policy, if not always wise, had been honourable. When active intervention became necessary, her sometime partner preferred to stand aside, though, in the French President's words, 'France wished England well in this matter and would



MEX. An Egyptian fort guarding Alexandria garrisoned by Arabs and bombarded by the British fleet

sincerely rejoice in the success of her arms.' Therefore Gladstone, speaking in the Commons,¹ said, 'We feel that we should not fully discharge our duty if we did not endeavour to convert the present interior state of Egypt from anarchy and conflict to peace and order. We shall look during the time that remains to us to the co-operation of the Powers of civilized Europe, if it be in any case open to us. But if every chance of obtaining co-operation is exhausted, the work will be undertaken by the single power of England.' That co-operation was not obtained. Austria and Germany gave England their 'moral support'. Italy also refused to take

¹ 22nd July 1882

an active share in spite of repeated and pressing invitations to do so. This was probably due to the mistrust of France which then prevailed in Italy, and which caused her shortly afterwards to throw in her lot with Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance. England therefore undertook the task alone. Lord Wolseley utterly defeated the Arabists at Tel-el-Kebir, September 1882. Cairo was occupied, and Arabi surrendered. The National element in the movement deserved respect, though the carrying out of their policy of 'Egypt for the Egyptians' in any completeness at that date would have been impossible. Had all non-Egyptians (i. e. Turks and Europeans) been eliminated from the Government, there would have been no class left fitted by education and training for the general work of administration. When the Nationalists, largely owing to the mishandling of the situation by Anglo-French diplomacy, threw in their lot with the Militarists, the worst elements came to the top, and foreign intervention was the only alternative to anarchy.

What were England's future intentions with regard to Egypt? This was the question the French Government asked immediately after Tel-el-Kebir; others, in Egypt and in England, were asking themselves the same question. The English Government's point of view was simple. England had entered Egypt with some reluctance to restore order, and would retire when her task was done. When France pressed for the restoration of the Dual Control, England, with the entire approval of the Egyptian Government, refused, not through jealousy of France but because experience had proved that the Dual Control had created difficulties instead of removing them. France therefore 'resumed her liberty of action in Egypt'—which was usually exercised in opposition to England. Lord Granville immediately afterwards (January 1883) informed the Powers that England was 'desirous of withdrawing her forces as soon as the state of the country and the organization of proper means for the maintenance of the Khedive's authority will permit of it'.

But not so easily may a nation escape her destiny. Before the disorder occasioned by the Arabist insurrection had been settled, a new danger appeared in the south which necessarily delayed the withdrawal. In the meantime the question was arising to what extent the maintenance of order and the carrying out of reforms necessarily depended upon a continuance of the English occupation ?

The result of Ismail's schemes for the extension of his dominion southwards to the Equator had been to scatter a number of Egyptian military posts over an enormous area of country where communication was very slow and very difficult. Not only were there neither railways nor roads, but there were the even greater obstacles of climate, disease, and scarcity of water. To the natives the Egyptian 'rule' meant tyranny, oppression, and misery in every shape. When, therefore, in 1881 there arose in Dongola one who proclaimed himself 'The Mahdi', ordained by heaven to sweep away the infidel, Turkish or European, and convert the world to Muhammadanism, the Sudanese flocked to his standard. All saw in the movement a chance of throwing off the hated Egyptian tyranny, but there was in addition the religious side, which made the rising far more formidable than a mere political revolt. The Mahdi's followers believed, with the intensity of fanatics, in victory in this world and paradise in the world to come ; and such conviction had more than once changed the history of North Africa.

To deal with such a movement Egypt was wellnigh helpless. The Treasury was empty, the Army rotten to the core, and the Arabi insurrection allowed the Mahdi time to establish his position. When therefore in 1883 General Hicks was appointed to the Army of the Sudan, it had to be decided whether it would be wiser to advance south-west into Kordofan and attempt to crush the Mahdi in a single battle or to evacuate the southern lands and concentrate at Khartum. The first course was undoubtedly preferable *if* it was a possible one. But it required money and a good army, neither of

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which was available. Even then the difficulties were great and the prospect of success uncertain. Further, assuming the Mahdi were defeated, there remained the question whether Egypt was in a position to assume the responsibility for governing such a vast territory. The second alternative was inglorious and would probably mean that some of the scattered Egyptian garrisons in the interior would have to be left to their fate. But it would prevent the movement from spreading, it was within the capacity of the Army, and—no small consideration to the Egypt of that time—it was cheap. General Hicks preferred the first alternative; Granville, the English Foreign Minister, against his own better judgement, did not forbid it; the expedition, misled by treacherous guides and worn out with heavy marching and want of water, in November was wiped out almost to a man by the Mahdi, Hicks and his staff falling in a last desperate charge against the enemy.

After such a defeat the holding even of Khartum was no longer possible. The maintenance of Egyptian authority in those regions would have required the employment of a large number of English troops for a long period, which in the circumstances was not to be thought of. The British Government therefore recommended the complete evacuation of the Sudan and retirement to Wadi Halfa. To this the Khedive with considerable reluctance agreed. But who was to carry out the very difficult task of withdrawing the Egyptian garrison? The national hero of the moment in England was Gordon,¹ who by his absolute fearlessness, his passionate unselfishness, and his scorn of all regulations when they stood in the way of his doing what he thought to be right, brought back to his emotional countrymen a breath of medieval romance. Furthermore, for two years (1877-9) he had had experience of administration in the Sudan. He was the man,

¹ General Gordon had laid the foundations of his fame in China, where, in command of the Imperial Chinese Army, he suppressed the Tai-ping Rebellion.

the newspapers cried, to be sent to the Sudan. The nation approved ; the ministry acquiesced. But they forgot that personal magnetism is not the first essential in a statesman ; that the evacuation would require clearness of thought and fixity of purpose ; that the first requirement of an official representative is that he shall loyally carry out the policy of his Government. General Gordon was described in Parliament, not unjustly, as a ' national asset '. But he had, in a strong degree, the defects of his qualities ; and this particular piece of work was likely to emphasize those defects very strongly.

The instructions given to Gordon were definite : previous to his arrival in the Sudan he not only agreed to them but approved of them. In his own words, ' Wolseley came and took me to the Ministers. . . . He said " Government are determined to evacuate the Sudan, for they will not guarantee future government, will you go and do it ? " I said " Yes " '. And on another occasion he had written that ' Her Majesty's Government are fully justified in recommending the evacuation '. But when he got to the Sudan his views underwent a series of rapid changes, ending in the proposal that, with the help of Indian troops, the Mahdi should be ' smashed up ', because he could not endure the idea of abandoning the country to the absolute barbarism of the Mahdists. Consequently, instead of making his arrangements for evacuation, he began lengthy negotiations with the Egyptian and British Governments as to the means whereby he could maintain himself at Khartum. In the meantime the Mahdist forces were sweeping round Khartum, the telegraph wire was cut, and the position of Gordon and his companions became full of danger. The British Government was urged to send a relief expedition (April 1884). But the Gladstone Ministry could not make up its mind that such an expedition was necessary till August, when it was already too late. Had it been even a few days earlier Khartum and Gordon would have been saved ; and the narrowness of the margin makes the tragedy the more pitiable. The relief force was already

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at the Sixth Cataract, almost within sight of Khartum, when the Dervishes broke into the city. Gordon, in a white uniform, stood at the entrance to his office waiting quietly. He had on his sword but he did not draw it. The yelling crowd surged towards him and he fell beneath a mass of spears. 'If', he had written on November 8, 'it is right to send an expedition

now, why was it not right to send it up before?' Why, indeed!

Khartum having fallen, the military forces retired to Wadi Halfa, and almost the net result of the Gordon mission and the relief expedition, with all that they had cost in blood and money, was that the situation was rather worse than it had been immediately after the destruction of General Hicks's army. The personality of Gordon and the tragedy of his fate will ever cause his name to be memorable in Egyptian history. But while



Tenniel in *Punch*, February 1885 ¹

we admire the man we must not forget that his mission and his death had but a very slight influence on Egypt's development. Therein lies the tragedy—the waste, to judge by human standards, of so much good.

'Where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together.' Half Central Africa was going begging, colonial expansion was in the air, and the Powers were not slow to respond to the appeal. At the Conference of Berlin in 1884 the various 'spheres of influence' were mapped out, and if,

¹ By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

from one point of view, it was a triumph for the principle of internationalism that such a division should be made by diplomacy and not by war, there was another and less creditable side. One romantic incident redeems a somewhat sordid story. Emin Pasha, a German, had been the Governor for Egypt of Equatoria. With the rising of the Mahdi to the north he was completely cut off from communication with the outside world till Stanley cut his way through the Central African forests and brought him back in safety.

Meantime the work of reforming Egyptian administration went steadily forward under the Earl of Cromer (Sir E. Baring), British Agent at Cairo from 1883 to 1907. He faced diplomatic complications and financial crises with equal statesmanlike courage, and never swerved from his determination to build up an efficient system of government for Egypt which should give prosperity and morale to the fellaheen. The record of things done conveys but a slight idea of the difficulties that were overcome, and of the greatness of the achievement in a land governed since the time of the Pharaohs by the use of the whip. The courbash—a whip with a hippopotamus hide lash—was forbidden in 1883. As the result of removing this method of enforcing obedience, there was for a time much lawlessness, and in particular the peasants refused to do the forced labour (*corvée*) in removing the deposits of mud from the irrigation canals; this forced labour amounted in some cases to 180 days' work a year. To abolish forced labour meant providing money to pay labour. The difficulty was got over, partly by more scientific methods which prevented the mud from settling, partly by the British Government agreeing to the postponement of the payment of her dividends on the Suez Canal shares, that money might be available for doing away with forced labour (1888). The regular payment of adequate salaries, the systematic auditing of accounts, the practice of inviting tenders for public works, the appointment of judges who would not be influenced by corrupt motives, and the general supervision by picked British

officials ensured that the administration would be conducted on efficient and economical lines. Taxation was substantially reduced, many petty and vexatious dues which hindered the growth of commerce were abolished, and yet not only did the revenue increase from just under £9,000,000 in 1883 to just over £15,000,000 in 1906, but £16,000,000 were spent out of revenue on public works. The race against bankruptcy had been handsomely won. What all this has meant to the people of Egypt may be judged from some of the social changes that have taken place. Scientific irrigation within ten years from 1883 at least trebled the cotton and sugar crops ; small holders have been encouraged and light railways built to bring the produce to market. Slave-trading has been practically abolished, and any slave can obtain almost complete personal liberty if he applies at the Manumission Office. It is only the religious law of Islam which prevents the complete abolition of slavery. Although the difficult problem of the elementary education of the fellaheen is still unsolved, primary and secondary education have made great strides, and the fact that people are willing to pay for them proves that they appreciate their value. Lastly, a native army has been built up, contented and self-respecting, which has proved itself on many hard-fought fields. Such a record of rapid national regeneration would be hard to parallel.

There remained the question of the Sudan. So long as an enemy whose avowed policy was one of invasion held the Upper Nile, the safety of Egypt was insecure. The immediate danger was removed when Osman Digna, the Mahdi's general, was defeated at Tokar in 1891 and the frontier safe-guarded. Any further advance southwards, however desirable, would depend upon financial considerations. But the rapid improvement in the Egyptian revenue made possible the reconquest of the Sudan far sooner than was at one time expected. Under Sir Herbert Kitchener, who combined a genius for organization with an exact appreciation of the need for economy, Dongola was captured in 1896. Eighteen months



The Sources of the Nile. Natives washing for gold in a tributary in Abyssinia



The Sudd barriers on the Blue Nile



The Nile as it reaches Egypt

later a decisive action was fought at the Atbara, when the Dervishes in forty minutes were swept out of a strongly entrenched position. The remnants of the Mahdi's army were defeated, fighting magnificently, outside the walls of Omdurman (September 1898), and a memorial service was held in Khartum, at the spot where Gordon fell, to commemorate one who had died in endeavouring to set up that rule of law which had at last been founded. By the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1899 the Sudan was placed under the joint rule of England and Egypt.

What then was the position of England in Egypt in 1900? She had asserted in 1882 and in 1884 that she was anxious to evacuate the country as soon as an orderly government had been established and danger from without removed. By 1900 both these requirements, thanks to England's co-operation, had been amply fulfilled. Why did England remain? The answer to this question is to be found in the change which had come over the policies of England and of Europe. England's support of Turkey, which characterized the middle of the nineteenth century, had been given up under Gladstone and Salisbury; the Armenian massacres had created a strong feeling against Turkey, and it had come to be an understood thing that no country which had once been freed from Turkish rule should ever go back to it. It was felt, therefore, that there could be no question of Egypt returning to Turkey. Again, England's attitude towards her overseas possessions had changed; the new conception was to link them together, as self-governing daughter states, into one free British Commonwealth. The Colonial Conferences of 1887 and 1897 were tangible evidence of this. The importance of Egypt as one of the key positions in this world-wide commonwealth was obvious. The policy of France also played a part. Since 1882 her attitude had not been friendly; she was envious of the prize she had let slip in that year, and this jealousy culminated in the Fashoda incident of 1898, when Major Marchand, advancing eastwards from the Niger, endeavoured to establish a French post on the

Upper Nile.¹ But the threatening activities of Germany had led France since 1891 to seek safety in an alliance with Russia. To this alliance she desired to add England. France was, moreover, in process of acquiring a position in Morocco somewhat similar to that of England in Egypt. She therefore concluded with England in 1904 a Convention by which not only were many outstanding causes of friction done away



The temple of PHYLAE, as now partly submerged by the Assuan dam

with, but it was established that Morocco was to be her sphere of influence, as Egypt was to be England's.

England therefore started on a patchwork policy—she would stay in Egypt till she had taught the Egyptians to govern themselves. In the meantime she was giving Egypt an administration that was admittedly excellent, and was setting up irrigation schemes and public works which were adding enormously to the prosperity of the country. But the very excellence of the system was in itself a danger. The British officials felt—and felt sincerely—that if they went the system would deteriorate. It was the justifiable pride of

¹ He was, however, met by Kitchener and the situation was satisfactorily ended by the retirement of the French.

the craftsman in his work. They admitted in the abstract the idea of an independent Egypt, but as time went on they were less and less inclined to assign a date when this independence should begin.

On the other hand there arose in Egypt a Nationalist Party, not as yet hostile to England, which was rather in the position of an honoured guest a little outstaying his welcome. The tentative measures adopted during the period subsequent to 1907, in execution of the policy of gradually developing Egyptian self-government, were far from satisfying this party. Provincial councils, and urban councils in some of the larger cities, were set up with limited powers of local administration. The Egyptian provincial governors (Mudirs) were encouraged to assume a larger measure of responsibility. The Budget was submitted to the Legislative Council for its opinion. These steps were looked upon by the Nationalists as a sign of weakness on the part of the British authorities, and encouraged them in a policy of agitation not devoid of violence, while they were viewed with disfavour by many of the English. The Egyptian Prime Minister was assassinated by Nationalists, as being too subservient to British policy. Meanwhile the year 1908 saw the rise of the 'Young Turk' Party at Constantinople, who were to do for Turkey, it was thought, what Mazzini and 'Young Italy' had done for their fatherland. There had in the past been much ill-feeling between Egypt and Turkey, but now, they said, 'Young Turk' and 'Young Egypt' would be as brothers, both inspired by a common hope of independence and regeneration. Not only the Egyptian Nationalists but the Khedive also began to look more and more to Turkey.

The year 1908 was important for the whole of the Near East, for it was then that two great political ideas joined forces. On the one hand the triumph of the Young Turks seemed to confirm the hopes raised by the victory of the Eastern Power of Japan over the Western Power of Russia—it was a proof of what an Eastern nation could do when it became 'progressive'. On the other hand, it marked a definite stage in

the carrying out of Germany's idea of Eastern development. 'The establishment of a sphere of economic influence from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf has been for nearly two decades the silent aim of German foreign policy. It is in this way alone that Germany can win a compact sphere of economic activity which will remain open to her independently of the favour and jealousy of the Great Powers.'¹ This idea had a further extension; the 'Eastern Empire' was to be linked up via Egypt with Central Africa, so that Germany could 'import from her own sphere of government the tropical products which cannot be grown on her own soil'.² To achieve this policy control of Turkey by Germany was essential; in 1908 she achieved it. The Berlin-Bagdad railway was to be built which would render commerce possible between them, independent of hostile competition, and above all, of command of the sea.

The outbreak of war in 1914 was from one point of view a struggle between England and Germany for political influence in the East. Turkey supported Germany; England enlisted on her side the Arabs in the person of the king of the Hedjaz and his brilliant son, the Emir Feisul, promising to support the setting up of an independent Arab kingdom east of the Jordan. Egypt was for the time being quiescent, and bided her time when England in 1914 proclaimed a Protectorate, a step which the efficient conduct of military operations rendered necessary; was not Turkey winning and salvation coming from across the Canal? But with Allenby's defeat of the Turks in Palestine, when it became apparent that the Protectorate might serve to perpetuate British domination, Egyptian Nationalism blazed up in the rebellion of the spring of 1919. The Nationalists hated us because of the Protectorate; the Pashas, because we kept them out of office; the educated classes generally, because they thought they could manage their own affairs better than strangers;

¹ Dr. Spiethoff, *Economic Rapprochement between Germany and her Allies*.

² *Frankfurter Zeitung*, January 1917.

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the fellaheen, because there had been mismanagement and corruption connected with the enlistment of the Egyptian labour corps. We had hardly a friend in the country.

To inquire into this situation a commission was appointed under Lord Milner, which in its report recognized that Egypt was a nation, and as such entitled to self-government. But at the same time it drew attention to the fact that England could not give up responsibility for the safe-guarding of Egypt. It occupied a vital position on England's communications with the Sudan, with India, and with Palestine and Mesopotamia, for both of which countries we had accepted a mandate from the League of Nations, and for the orderly government of which we were therefore responsible. The problem for the Government to solve was, therefore, what was the indispensable minimum of control over Egyptian affairs. After some delay the answer was given in the proclamation (March 1922) of Fuad I as 'King' of Egypt, which was to have complete powers of self-government, and the right to re-establish an Egyptian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 'which will prepare the way for the creation of the diplomatic and consular representation of Egypt'. But Egypt's foreign policy is to be subject to the oversight of the British Government, who reserve for future discussion the question of the maintenance of a British military force in Egyptian territory, and that of the protection of the rights of foreigners in Egypt. Meanwhile, foreign governments have been informed that any attempt at interference in Egyptian affairs will be regarded by Great Britain as an unfriendly act. The claim put forward by the Nationalists that Egypt should have sole control of the Sudan was not admitted. Egypt will now have the opportunity of making good her claim that she can maintain an orderly and efficient administration. If she can do so, it will be a triumph not only for Egypt but for England, who in less than fifty years will have transformed a bankrupt and down-trodden people into a prosperous and self-respecting nation.



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INDIA

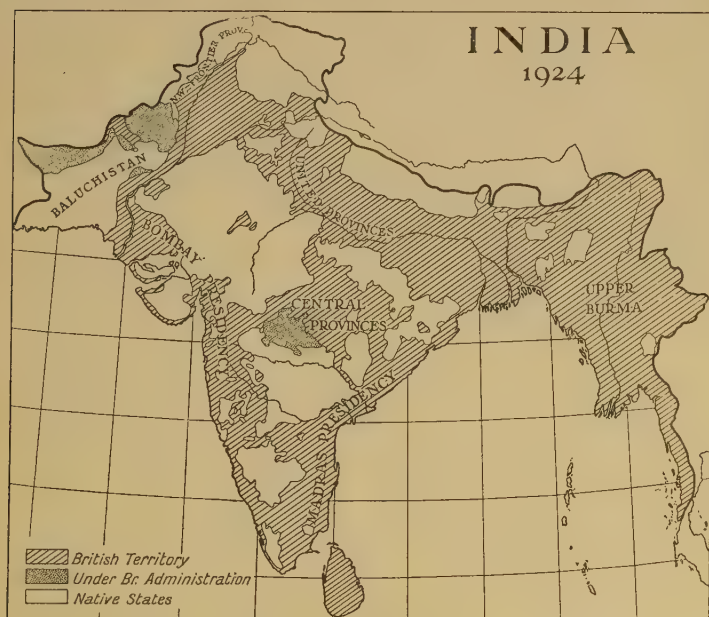
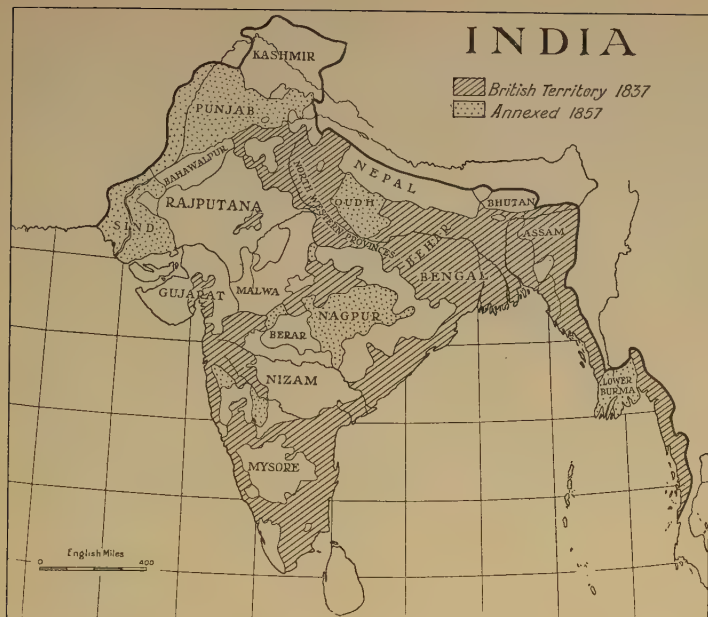
THE appointment of Warren Hastings to the Governorship of the Calcutta Presidency in 1772 was the commencement of an entirely new chapter in the history of the British power in India. After Clive's governorship the East India Company could never again be a mere trading body ; but it shrank from the logical consequences of its own actions. Clive had done much, and had wished to do more, to purify the Company's administration ; but he had no conception of altering fundamentally its position in India. It should continue, he thought, as an organization powerful enough to keep the Nawab of Bengal in a state of wholesome dependence. It was left to the constructive genius of the greatest Englishman who has ever laboured for India not only to restore the finances of the Company, which as a result of wars and the devastating famine of 1770 was on the verge of bankruptcy, and to establish a tradition of honourable integrity among its servants, but to lay down the principle that it was an obligation upon the British people to secure peace, justice, and prosperity throughout all India.

It was as Governor of Bengal (1772-4) that Hastings carried out the chief of his administrative reforms. He realized that the administration of justice could not be separated from the collection of revenue. He therefore had a new assessment drawn up, based on careful inquiry ; the Zemindars, or



Beginnings. The English Fort at Bombay, c. 1720





revenue-farmers, were given security of tenure for five years, while the peasants were safeguarded from exactions by written contracts ; and the Revenue Board was transferred to Calcutta, where it could be more adequately supervised by the Governor himself. At the same time two supreme Courts, Civil and Criminal, were set up at Calcutta, with similar Provincial Courts in each of the six Bengal Collectories. These were administered by Indian judges, and justice was made accessible and cheap. The chief cause of corruption was the right of officials to trade on their own account. This Hastings could not entirely stop, but he regulated it and required all goods, whether they belonged to an official or to a private individual, to pay the same duties. Thus not only was order substituted for chaos in the departments of government, but the principle was introduced of working in sympathy with Indian law and custom. This was a point on which Hastings laid great stress. He was always deeply interested in the literature and learning of India ; and though too busy to devote much time to it himself, he encouraged, often at his own expense, the studies of learned Indians in such matters as codifying Hindu and Muhammadan law.

When the Regulating Act came into force in 1774, Hastings found himself over-ridden by a council which had come out to India with the avowed intention of opposing him in every particular. At the same time, as Governor-General, he had a nominal responsibility for the other two Presidencies of Bombay and Madras, over which he could exercise little effective control. Thus he was often involved against his own will and judgement in wars with Indian rulers who could look to France for assistance. At this time the three chief native powers in India were the Mahrattas, the Nizam of Haidarabad, and the Sultan of Mysore. The Mahrattas were a Confederacy of fierce horsemen whose plundering raids terrorized all East Central India, and they were the most important of the powers with which the British had to deal, since they touched Bombay directly, and Calcutta and Madras

indirectly through Haidarabad and Mysore. The nominal head of the Confederacy was the Peshwa at Poona ; but the real power was in the hands of Sindia, who had recently got the Emperor at Delhi under his control. Though the Emperor for some time had possessed very little real power he was still in theory the governor of India—or at least of northern and central India—and so his name carried weight.

Mysore was governed by Haidar Ali, a Muhammadan soldier of fortune, who had driven out the former Hindu Sultan. He was a fierce old barbarian, honest and straightforward in his dealing, and perhaps the cleverest diplomatist in India ; a capable soldier, though better at fighting battles than at planning campaigns. He ruled Mysore sternly, permitting no exactions except his own. But personally he was pitiless and cruel. He realized that he would have to make an alliance either with the Mahrattas or with the British, and he preferred the British. He had therefore made an agreement with them for help against the Mahrattas. Haidarabad, one of the largest States in India, was exposed to attack on three sides and was less aggressive than Mysore. Some officials in the Madras presidency lent money to the neighbour of Haidarabad, the Nawab of the Carnatic, and were guilty of many questionable dealings, which gave the British a bad name through central India.

In 1775 Bombay government made an attempt to set up a new Peshwa at Poona, and thus to control the Mahratta power. This led to war, in which Hastings reluctantly found himself involved. But while he was in the midst of the struggle with the Mahrattas, Haidar Ali, who had been disappointed in his expectation of help from the Company in accordance with the terms of his agreement, vowed a bitter vengeance and in 1780 marched into the Carnatic. War had been declared by France two years previously, and Haidar Ali was daily expecting the arrival of a French fleet to co-operate with him. Hastings at once took decisive measures to deal with this new danger ; the two British commanders in Madras had

been ignominiously defeated, and the whole of the British power in southern India was on the verge of ruin. The old veteran Sir Eyre Coote was hurried south with every man that Hastings could raise, and Haidar was decisively defeated at Porto Novo. Meantime negotiations were started with the Mahrattas, and in 1782 the Treaty of Salbai was signed whereby things were to remain as they had been at the commencement of the war, except that the English were to have Salsette. Thus the danger of co-operation between Mysore and the Mahrattas was prevented. Then—fortunately just too late—the French fleet arrived under de Suffren, with French troops under Bussy on board. De Suffren was a great sailor, but in Hughes, the British admiral, he met his match. They fought a series of running fights off the Coromandel coast, and Hughes was able to prevent the French landing. De Suffren withdrew, and with the death of Haidar in the following year the danger to the British power in southern India passed away. Hastings had not been able to do what he had hoped. The Mahratta power was still unbroken, and the peace of Mangalore with Mysore had only provided for a mutual restoration of conquests. But the achievement had been a great one. Hampered by a hostile council, by incompetent troops, and by lack of money, he had yet managed to maintain his position and to redeem the prestige of the British name in India.

Throughout this time of difficulty Hastings yet found time to continue his work of reform. The method of collecting the revenue was made more economical ; corrupt practices were checked, and the judicial system improved. In particular the conflict between the English Supreme Court and the Native Supreme Court was ended by the appointment of Sir Elijah Impey, a distinguished student of Hindu law, to the chief judgeship of both. In all these reforms, however, Hastings found himself at every turn hampered instead of helped by the new council which had been sent out from England. One member, Francis, who was probably the author of the famous *Letters of Junius*, was conspicuous for his ability,

his hostility, and his unscrupulousness. Hastings, writing to Lord North in 1775, complained that the council's aim was 'to destroy my credit at home, while all their public measures serve to proclaim the annihilation of my power abroad. Agents chosen from the basest of the people have been incited to bring accusations against me. My opponents think, if they can succeed to lower my private character, the rectitude and propriety of my public conduct will be overlooked. The meanest drudge enjoys a condition of happiness compared with mine, while I am doomed to share the responsibility of measures which I disapprove or be an idle spectator of the ruin which I cannot avert.'

In 1785 Hastings resigned; on his return home he was impeached on the charge of corruption and oppression towards the natives of India. The trial dragged on for ten years, and ended, in spite of the splendid eloquence of Burke, in his honourable acquittal. That, amid the stress of war and the malicious opposition of his council, he had sometimes done what he could, rather than what he would, is undoubted. His task had been one of peculiar difficulty; at a time when England was engaged in a humiliating war with the American Colonies, he had preserved our Indian Empire and reformed its administration. 'To the charge of oppression, a universal people made answer by their astonishment, their blessing, and their prayers. To the crime of receiving corrupt presents, he answered by poverty.'¹ Even Macaulay admits that 'we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the interests of the State, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune and never disturbed by either'. More magnificently proud than the Great Commoner himself, Hastings declined the peerage which Parliament offered him after his acquittal. He was right. No peerage could have added lustre to a name so

¹ Wilkes, i. 463.

illustrious.¹ From his trial one good thing emerged: it established in the eyes of the world the determination of the British people not to countenance the oppression of any subject however exalted might be the offender, or however difficult the circumstances.

Shortly before Hastings' resignation, Pitt passed his Bill for the government of India (1784) which set up a Board of Control in England, whose President was practically the Secretary for India. Its business was 'to control all acts, &c. relating to the civil or military government or revenues of possessions of the East India Company', and all high officials were to be nominated by the Government in England. This was a big step towards the control of the administration of India by the Crown, and the appointment of Lord Cornwallis—the first to be made under the new Act—marked the change in the relations of the Crown to India. He was a distinguished public servant who had met with considerable success as commander in America; his responsibility for the final surrender at Yorktown was more apparent than real. The fact that he had not been in the service of the Company gave him a far stronger position in dealing with administrative defects in the Company's system; for he himself had never taken part in them. The discretionary power granted to him of acting contrary to the decision of the majority in the council freed him from a restriction which Hastings had found very harassing.

He came out with the intention of devoting himself mainly to reforms in the government. After the loss of the American Colonies England was in no mood for increasing her territorial possessions. He set himself to abolish corruption, and he saw, as Clive and Hastings had done before him, that the only way to do this was to pay officials adequate salaries.² He

¹ The only honours Hastings was willing to accept from his country were a seat on the Privy Council, where he could be of service, and a degree from the University of Oxford.

² Writing to Dundas, 1792, he said: 'The wretched policy of the Company has driven all their servants to the alternative of starving or of taking what was not their own.'

refused to put undesirables from Europe into well-paid posts even though they had (as happened in one instance) a letter of recommendation from the Prince of Wales. He improved the relations between the King's troops and those of the Company. Next, he turned his attention to improving the well-being of the peasants. Previously, the land tax had been collected by an agent, called a Zemindar, who had been given for himself a percentage of the amount that had been collected. This had led to extortion, especially as, under the Company's rule, the Zemindar had not known how long he was going to keep his post. Under the Mughal Emperors, the position had practically been an hereditary one. Cornwallis, therefore, determined to give the Zemindars proprietary rights in the land, hoping that they would be led to study the welfare of the cultivators. At the same time he fixed *permanently* the amount of the land tax, in this way endeavouring to protect the cultivator against extortion. The measure met with considerable criticism on the double ground that the cultivator was not given a chance to become the owner of his land, and that the Government would not reap any benefits from any increase in the value of the soil. These criticisms were probably just. Cornwallis was too much influenced by his own inherited instincts as to the importance of a class of large landholders. He expected that a class of men, whom Shore had warned him were 'utterly ignorant of agricultural science', would become 'economical landlords' if they were given proprietary rights in the soil. The measure, however, certainly benefited the peasant, who paid about 6 per cent. of the value of his crop, instead of nearly 50 per cent. as under the Mughals, and it was followed by an increase in cultivation. To give more complete effect to this reform, he made changes in the judicial system. Previously persons responsible for the collection of revenue had been given certain judicial powers; that is to say, a case dealing with extortion might come up for trial before the man who had been responsible for the extortion. Cornwallis took all judicial powers away from the Boards of Revenue, and set up four Provincial Courts of

Appeal to which cases could be taken from the district Courts. Criminal cases were tried by a modified form of Muhammadan law, with an Indian judge to act as adviser. By these reforms he rounded off the work which Clive had begun and Hastings had developed, and asserted the principle that the aim of the British rule in India was the well-being of the governed.

The result of the previous twenty-five years' work had been the consolidation of the Company's position in Bengal. It was the strongest individual power in India ; its rule was certainly the most efficient and the most just. But it ruled directly very little territory outside Bengal, and the Directors were very anxious that it should not do so. They impressed upon successive Governors-General the extreme undesirability either of acquiring more territory or of intervening in Indian politics. Cornwallis attempted to carry out this policy by making a defensive alliance with the Mahrattas and with the Nizam of Haidarabad. Sir John Shore, Cornwallis's right-hand man, and successor, carried the policy of non-intervention to such an extreme that he refused the Nizam any assistance when the Mahrattas were overrunning his territory.

Napoleon had just signed the Treaty of Campo Formio with Austria (1797) ; his eyes were already on Egypt and the East. Tipu Sultan of Mysore, smarting from his late defeat at Cornwallis's hands (1792), and the Nizam, furious at his betrayal, eagerly sought the co-operation which the French as eagerly granted. The Mahrattas likewise saw in French help the one thing necessary to sweep away the British ; thus they would gain themselves the supremacy over all India which they thought was within their grasp. Wellesley, the new Governor-General, had been a close student of Indian affairs since his appointment by Pitt in 1793 as a member of the Board of Control. He had met at the Cape on his way out the late Governor of Madras, with whom he had discussed the situation. Therefore, when he landed in India, 1798, he realized that a mere passive defence was inadequate. Not only must these three hostile powers be crushed before help from France assumed formidable

proportions, but the Company must, for the peace of India and in self-defence, become the paramount power. As Castlereagh admitted in a dispatch to Wellesley in 1804, 'it has not been a matter of choice but of necessity that our existence in India should pass from that of traders to that of sovereign. If we had not, the French would long ago have taken the lead in India to our exclusion.'

Having heard in 1799 of the preparations at Toulon for Napoleon's Eastern expedition, Wellesley attacked Mysore. The campaign was a difficult one, the country hilly and full of jungle. It was completely successful. Seringapatam was captured, 'Citizen' Tipu was killed, and the old Hindu dynasty restored. Mysore was established, as it has since remained, an independent State under the supervision of a British Resident. The Nizam most willingly entered into a defensive alliance for the reciprocal protection of territory against any unjust encroachment. The Carnatic, the ruler of which had been in treasonable correspondence with Tipu, in defiance of the Treaty of 1792, was taken under the Company's direct control. Thus the British power was supreme in southern India.

Wellesley then turned his attention to the north. Soon after his arrival he had received a letter from Zemann Shah of Afghanistan declaring his intention to invade Hindustan; and Wellesley had always been impressed with the danger of a possible co-operation between Tipu and Zemann. He therefore, in 1799, made an alliance with Persia to invade Afghanistan, in the event of the Afghans invading India. The danger, however, passed away by the defeat of Zemann in 1801 at the hands of his brother. Wellesley wished to secure himself against a repetition of the crisis. Oudh, the natural defence of Bengal on the north-west, had long been in an unsatisfactory condition. The Nawab, by scandalous misgovernment, had rendered himself hateful to his subjects; his army was mutinous, and he depended for his security upon the Company's troops. Wellesley, after a severe warning, entered into a treaty with him in 1801, whereby the Com-

pany undertook the defence of his territory, provided that he dismissed his own troops and maintained a decent system of administration within his dominions.

Meantime in the Mahratta Confederacy affairs were in the wildest confusion. The Peshwa Madhoo Rao had committed suicide in 1795; he had left no heir. Who was to succeed him? An orgy of murder and intrigue ensued. Bajee Rao finally obtained the Peshwaship, with Sindia as his supporter and virtual master. Holkar, the other powerful Mahratta chieftain, in 1801 made a successful bid for the supremacy, and defeated the forces of Sindia and the Peshwa at Poona. The Peshwa thereupon fled to Bassein in an English ship and sought the Company's protection. This was Wellesley's opportunity. He had for long been endeavouring to break up the Confederacy by dealing with the individual members separately, holding that it was 'absolutely necessary for the defeat of [the French] designs that no native power should be left to exist in India which is not upheld by English power or the political conduct of which is not under its absolute control'. He entered into the Treaty of Bassein with the Peshwa (February 1803), who undertook in return for protection to enter into no foreign relations without England's consent, and to submit all differences with the Mahratta chiefs to English arbitration. Wellesley's object was to maintain the Peshwa as an independent chief; the object of Sindia and Holkar was to get the Peshwa under their control and to reunite the Confederacy. War with the two chiefs was the result. In a brilliant campaign Sindia's forces were defeated by Sir Arthur Wellesley (brother of the Governor-General and the future Duke of Wellington) at Assaye and Argaon (1803), while Lake in Hindustan won the battle of Laswari and took the blind Emperor under British protection. 'Peace,' said Wellesley in reply to an address of congratulation from the British residents at Calcutta, 'peace is the fairest fruit of victory. In this peace I aimed at the general pacification of India.' And Castle-

reagh, in spite of some misgivings as to the extension of the Company's responsibilities, admits that the dissolution of Sindia's forces 'is among the most valuable services your Lordship could have rendered'.

Holkar, however, still held out. A dashing cavalry General, he succeeded in misleading and cutting off a column under Colonel Monson, and inflicted a severe check upon the impetuous Lake, who attempted to storm Bhurtpur without the necessary preparation. He submitted soon afterwards (1805); but the directors seized the opportunity to recall Wellesley, whose vast designs had frightened them. His relations with them had never been happy, and he had complained bitterly of their refusals to sanction many of his schemes and appointments. He had to leave the subjection of the Mahrattas uncompleted; but all danger that they would dominate India had passed away for ever. Henceforth no power could dispute with the British the supremacy in India.

Wellesley's success against the Mahrattas was not immediately followed up. Lord Minto came out in 1807 pledged against further extension, and in India itself occupied himself with the valuable work of bringing the civil service to a high degree of efficiency. With regard to the regions bordering on India, however, the fear of Napoleon which had been so potent with Wellesley continued to operate. By the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 Napoleon and Alexander of Russia had settled their differences and marked out their spheres of influence. It seemed likely that this might be the prelude to further designs in the east. Minto therefore entered into diplomatic relations with Persia, Afghanistan, and the Punjab, with a view to strengthening his defences on the north-west—the only direction from which, after Trafalgar, an enemy could threaten India. In pursuance of the same idea part of Malaya was conquered from the Dutch, to consolidate England's control over the far eastern seas. The Marquess of Hastings, who succeeded Lord Minto, completed what Wellesley had left undone. The Mahratta power was finally broken, and the

Pax Britannica established over all India south-east of the Indus and the Sutlej.

Now that India had passed indisputably into England's control, the question arose in the minds of all thoughtful men as to the principles upon which it ought to be administered. The wave of reaction which had followed upon the Congress of Vienna was passing away. England had defeated, at the Conference of Verona in 1822, the attempt of the autocratic Powers to give the law to Europe. An ordered Liberalism was everywhere in the ascendant. France moved one degree nearer constitutionalism under Louis Philippe, 'the citizen King'; England with the Reform Bill passed out of the atmosphere of eighteenth-century oligarchy. The movement had its effect on India. Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras from 1820 to 1827, wrote: 'Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power and protecting the inhabitants . . . or are we to endeavour to raise their character and to render them worthy of filling higher situations in the management of their country, and of devising plans for its improvement? It ought undoubtedly to be our aim to raise the minds of the natives.' The India Act of 1833 was the official acceptance of the new spirit. An additional member of Council was appointed¹ to report on legal and educational matters, 'due regard being had to the distinction of castes, differences of religion, and the manners and opinions prevailing among different races', and it was laid down that 'No native of the said territories . . . shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company'. But the most striking confirmation of the changed view which prevailed with regard to the government of India, is contained in the *Report of the Committee of Parliament on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1833*. It recognized as an indisputable principle that 'the interests

¹ Macaulay was the first to hold the post: in a famous Minute he laid down the dictum that Indian Education ought to proceed on Western, not on Eastern, lines.

of the native subjects are to be consulted in preference to those of Europeans, whenever the two come into competition'.

These liberal principles were put into practice most conspicuously by Lord William Bentinck (1828-35), who, as the statue erected to his memory in Calcutta states, 'infused into oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom'. He took measures to increase the employment of Indians in the civil service and to improve the lot of the peasantry. But in his attempts to suppress *Sati*—the burning alive of a widow on the funeral pyre of her husband—he laid down a further principle. Hitherto it had been the policy of the Company to interfere in no respect with any Indian custom or usage which was connected with religion. Bentinck himself considered the question long and anxiously; he came to the conclusion that, without any desire to convert the Indian to a different form of belief, the responsible Government could not permit (and the most enlightened Hindu opinion would not wish it to permit) practices which were repugnant to common ideas of morality. While all that was best in the Indian tradition should be preserved and encouraged, that which was gross or unworthy should gradually be weeded out.

Policy in India, however, could not remain entirely independent of political developments in Europe. Wellesley's activities had largely been conditioned by French ambitions; and France's approach to India was by the sea. In the 'thirties the enemy whom England dreaded was Russia, who was extending her influence into Persia and through Persia into Afghanistan. It therefore seemed of great importance to Palmerston that the passes in the north-west should be in friendly hands. Beyond the Sutlej—to which the frontier had been extended by Lord Hastings—lay the Punjab ruled over by the friendly Ranjit Singh, who, as the head of the religious sect of the Sikhs, had established his supremacy over all the Hindus and Muhammadans of the district. Sindh to the south-west, a barren and thinly-populated land, owed its importance to the fact that it controlled the lower waters of the Indus, and afforded one of the easier approaches to the north-west.

Lord Auckland (1836-41) in his desire to check the Russian expansion allowed himself to become involved in an attempt to place on the Afghan throne a British nominee, Shah Shuja. Kabul was occupied successfully and Shah Shuja enthroned. Then the difficulties began. The country was hostile, and communications were difficult. The Afghans



The KHYBER PASS. A caravan halting

rose ; the British garrison on its retreat was wiped out at the Khyber Pass and one solitary survivor escaped to Jellalabad to tell the tale. The disaster was in a measure retrieved ; a punitive expedition occupied Kabul and then evacuated it. But the loss to England's prestige was great and the problem of the North-West Frontier began ; it remained a difficulty for over sixty years. The Afghan disasters reacted in Sindh and in the Punjab. The Amirs in Sindh became more turbulent and disorderly, and Lord Ellenborough succumbed to the

temptation of attempting to restore British credit by the conquest of the country. Before his appointment he had been strongly interested in opening up the Indus to British commerce, and in favour of an active policy on the north-west to counteract the Russian advance in Central Asia. The laconic dispatch attributed to Lord Napier, announcing his victory, 'Peccavi' (I have sinned), summed up public opinion on the annexation. It was the one act of definite aggression of which



the British in India have been guilty. The Sikh wars were not of our making. Lord Hardinge was anxious that the Punjab should remain completely independent and had abstained from any act of provocation. But after the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 anarchy had broken out, and the Sikh army in 1845 invaded British territory, confident in their power to give a good account of themselves. They were defeated at Sobraon; but Hardinge would not consent to annexation. In his speech at Lahore on the conclusion of the peace in 1846, he said 'the British Government does not desire to interfere in your internal affairs. . . . If the friendly assistance

now afforded by the British Government be wisely followed up, you will become an independent and prosperous state. The success or failure is in your own hands.'

In the early years of the nineteenth century the journey to India had been shortened by the establishment of the Overland Service between Alexandria and the Red Sea. Travellers were taken by canal from Alexandria to Cairo and then driven in a kind of omnibus over the remaining ninety miles across the



A seventeenth-century view of Aden

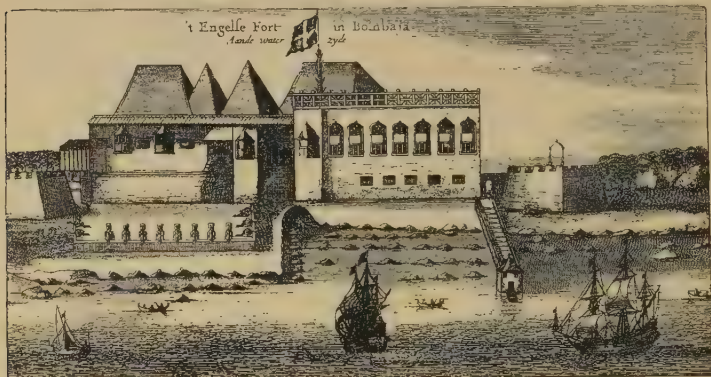
desert. This traffic across the Isthmus, steadily developing first with the building of a railway in 1859, then by the cutting of the Suez Canal in 1869, made the control of the Red Sea of increasing importance. In 1839 Great Britain obtained the port and peninsula of Aden. For centuries this had been one of the keys of the Indian Ocean; its great cisterns, capable of holding thirty million gallons, gathered the water from the surrounding hills; its capacious sheltered harbour had been one of the chief depots for the trade of the East. Arab, Portuguese, Dutch, and Turk had in turn struggled for its possession. Its acquisition, along with that of Perim a little later, gave Great Britain the control of the chief gateway to the East.

Two movements during the first half of the nineteenth

century had characterized British rule in India—the promotion of the well-being of the governed and the establishment throughout India of an orderly government. Both were advanced by Lord Dalhousie (1848–56). His lofty conception of the responsibilities of his office, his foresight in planning, his tireless industry in execution, place him second only to Warren Hastings in the illustrious roll of British servants of India. He laid the foundation of the Indian railway system. He constructed irrigation canals, one of which, the Ganges Canal, was several hundred miles in length and with its branches irrigated a million and a half acres. He introduced the telegraph and a cheap uniform system of postage. Ports and harbours were improved, the cultivation of tea, cotton, and silk were developed, and scientific forestry was started. Nor were his efforts confined to the encouragement of material prosperity alone. Education—particularly the education of women—received his warm support, and a scheme was drawn up by which Universities were established in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. He also actively continued the work begun by Lord William Bentinck in the suppression of certain usages. These measures effected what can only be described as a revolution in the everyday life of India. Communication became easy and cheap. The isolation of the self-sufficing village community was ended. Thus not only was famine robbed of half its terrors, since supplies could rapidly be obtained from regions where food was plentiful, but a supply of mobile labour was available with which to develop Indian industry.

Dalhousie wished also to further the prosperity of the people by improving the administrative machinery. He fought two wars, but both were forced upon him. The Sikhs refused to accept the opportunity which Hardinge had given them; they were ultimately defeated, after much stubborn fighting, at Gujarat, and the Punjab was annexed. Dalhousie regretted the necessity of the war, but he rejoiced in the opportunity which the annexation gave him of showing what could be effected by an enlightened administration. Roads,

bridges, and irrigation canals were constructed and an arid waste transformed into one of the granaries of India. It is due to him and to his great lieutenants, Henry and John Lawrence, that at the time of the Mutiny the Punjab favoured the British connexion. The Burmese War in like manner was forced upon him by the Burmese Government's stubborn disregard of its treaty obligations. The annexation of Lower Burma,



EARLY BOMBAY. A view of the English fort from the water-side, c. 1720

which resulted, gave England complete control of the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal.

But Dalhousie's passion for efficient government led him to undertake measures of more debatable value, forgetful of the old maxim that good government is no substitute for self-government. To his logical mind Wellesley's system of 'subsidiary alliances' was hateful. To him it meant at best the acquiescence of England in an inferior type of government, and at worst the protection by England of a prince against the consequences of his own misrule. His avowed aim was to extend as far as possible throughout India the government of the British power. He therefore took the opportunity, when a ruling prince died without leaving a direct heir—as in the case of Nagpur, Jhansi, and Satara—of

annexing the territory. It had long been a recognized custom that a prince could adopt an heir. By disregarding this custom Dalhousie created a strong feeling of resentment and insecurity which was intensified by the cancellation of pensions paid to rulers whose lands had been taken over by the Company, such as the Nawabs of Bengal and of the Carnatic. Finally, the Nawab of Oudh was deposed for persistent and



MODERN BOMBAY. The water-side to-day.

hideous misgovernment. By the treaty of 1801 the Company had guaranteed to the Nawab his territories; but this guarantee was conditional upon the maintenance of a good administration. The deposition was certainly deserved, but to the Indian princes, whose minds had been inflamed by a series of annexations, it seemed the final proof that no ruler's territories were safe.

There can be little doubt that in thus attempting to extend a uniform system of government throughout India, Dalhousie was wrong. The Protected States of India form to-day a very valuable training school in self-government, and afford an opening for honourable ambition. Perhaps in his introduction of Western ideas he proceeded more rapidly than was wise in a country such as India. But the benefits which he bestowed upon her were incalculable. He spent himself in her service, and when he left her, a dying man, he could wish

for no more fitting epitaph than his own words: 'What I have done, I have done with a clear conscience and in the honest belief that it was imperatively demanded of me by my duty to the State.'

Amid all these reforms the army in India had been neglected. There were petty jealousies between the Queen's troops and the Europeans in the Company's service. Among the native regiments the discipline and morale were bad, and during the preceding thirty years there had been many instances of dis-

affection bordering on mutiny.

A large proportion of the native army was recruited from Oudh, where the deposition of the ruler had created a faction bitterly hostile to the British power. Furthermore, our prestige had fallen dangerously low. Our failures in the Crimea were the talk of every bazaar in India, and men reminded each other of how the British had been defeated in Afghanistan and the



The Arsenal at SECUNDERABAD, c. 1860

Punjab. Dalhousie had warned the authorities that we were only secure so long as we were believed to be strong. In 1857 we were believed to be weak. Native troops outnumbered the British by seven or eight to one. Many of the officers were old and incapable. Outside the army there was much distrust of the intentions of the British Government. Princes feared for their territories, certain sections of the people feared for their religion. When, therefore, Indian regiments mutinied at Meerut in 1857, there was an answering echo in many parts of Central India. In general the movement was restricted to the Ganges valley and, outside Oudh, active revolt was largely confined to the army. There were three storm centres. At Delhi, whither the mutineers marched from Meerut, a descendant of the old Mughal Emperors was proclaimed. But Delhi showed little organization and hardly

co-operated at all with the movement elsewhere. The city was captured with the help of loyal Punjabi regiments in September 1857. Lucknow was the natural centre of the revolt in Oudh. The garrison was relieved by Colin Campbell in November 1857, but the city was then evacuated and not re-occupied till the spring of the following year. Cawnpore, from the military point of view the least important centre, is memorable for the act of cold-blooded treachery committed



CAWNPORE. From a photograph taken immediately after the Mutiny

by Nana Sahib. He had been adopted as heir by the late Peshwa, but Dalhousie had refused to recognize his claims to the succession. He put himself at the head of the Cawnpore mutineers and besieged the garrison. Inadequate in number, and scantily supplied with food and water, they surrendered on Nana's sworn promise of safe-conduct. They were embarked in boats ; concealed batteries then opened fire and the boats sank. The survivors who struggled ashore were hacked to pieces and their mutilated bodies flung into a well. Havelock, too late to save, could only avenge them.

By the beginning of 1858 the Mutiny as a serious movement

had been suppressed. Parliament now took the decisive step. For a long time the continued existence of the Company had been a farce. In reality the British Government had controlled both policy and patronage. It now determined to control them in theory also. The Queen, in her proclamation to the Princes and People of India, reaffirmed the policy of



BURMA. The Irawaddy at Mandalay

the British power to 'respect the rights, dignity and honour of native princes', guaranteed that 'none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith', and that 'our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service'. Lord Canning, who as Governor-General had guided India through her crisis 'with fortitude, judgment and wise clemency',¹ was appointed the first Viceroy.

In the history of the British rule in India military opera-

¹ His epitaph in Westminster Abbey.

tions played a conspicuous part till well on in the nineteenth century. As the British power became established, wars became less frequent and less important, and the energies of the Government were directed more and more towards securing the development and prosperity of the peoples committed to its charge. At the conclusion of Lord Dalhousie's governor-generalship, India's political frontiers had been extended to her geographical boundaries. Within these the Pax Britannica was secure ; it was only in the direction of the two land-gates of India, on the North-West Frontier and in Upper Burma, that any fighting remained to be done after the Mutiny was finally settled. The French, who had established themselves in Cochin-China in 1858, were extending their influence towards Burma. Theebaw, the Burmese king, was not equal to the emergency. With some idea of French support, he attempted to continue the former Burmese policy of contempt towards the British. The result was the third Burmese War and the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886.

The danger from the north-west was not so easily settled. Russia, turning her back on Europe after the Crimean War, was bent on developing eastward and establishing herself in Siberia and Central Asia. The Khans of Turkistan with their continuous rivalries could offer no effective resistance to the Russian advance. In 1864 Tashkent, and in 1868 Samarkand were occupied by Russian arms, and Russia at a bound had come to within measurable distance of the Indian frontier. Irritation in England became extreme ; it was thought that the next step would be

that mighty battle drawing near
To shake the Afghan passes straight and sheer.

The Amir endeavoured to obtain from the British Government a definite assurance of their support on the ground that ' the border of Afghanistan is in truth the border of India '. This the British refused, from a too lively recollection of how they had burnt their fingers in 1842. The Amir therefore turned to Russia and in 1878 accepted a Russian envoy ;

his irritation against England had been increased by a treaty which she had made in 1876 with Baluchistan by which that country was brought under British influence, and British troops were allowed to be stationed at Quetta. His refusal to accept a British envoy led to the second Afghan War of 1878, though the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin in the same year had settled many of the outstanding questions between England and Russia in Central Asia. Success was followed by disaster which was in part retrieved by Roberts's famous



THE RUSSIAN MENACE TO INDIA
Tenniel's cartoon in *Punch*, March 1885¹

march to Kandahar. Then the question arose, whether Afghanistan was to be held or evacuated. Evacuation was finally decided upon and Afghanistan became a buffer State whose foreign policy was, in theory, to be controlled by the Government in India. But the peace was more apparent than real. 'Incidents' continually occurred, and the fall of the Tsarist Government in 1917 threw all Central Asia into confusion. Some serious fighting occurred in 1917. The Bolshevik Government, by their negotiations with the Turkish Nationalists at Angora, as well as with the Afghans, seem to be aiming at securing the support of Islam against the British,

¹ By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

and for the time being the North-West Frontier remains in a state of unrest.

One of the most important questions with which the British Government had to deal after the Mutiny was the relation between itself and the ruling chiefs. Of these there



are 650, varying from the Nizam of Haidarabad, who rules over twelve million persons, to petty chieftains whose territories are only a few square miles. They govern in all some seventy millions of persons, and their dominions amount in extent to two-fifths of all India—in population to about one-fifth. In two respects the Mutiny led to important changes with regard to them. Canning, reversing Dalhousie's policy, allowed the chiefs to adopt heirs. This did much to reconcile them to British rule and indirectly made it more possible to

influence them in the direction of reform. Secondly, the chiefs were guaranteed in the possession of their territory on condition that they rendered active assistance to the Government in its imperial task, especially in promoting just government. This means, in effect, the appointment of a British Resident at each chief's court, who exercises a general and usually a tactful oversight of the whole governmental machine. The chiefs naturally have not all the same views.

L O N D O N,

*Cargoe of the Benjamin Arrived from Surat the
21th of November, 1693.*

	Pieces	Pounds
Bafts broad white	1100	
ditto narrow brown	2640	91900 Cowries
Chints	6180	29000 Coffee
ditto Caddy	420	11200 Indico
Coffaes	500	51000 Olibanum
Deribands large	7735	111000 Pepper
ditto small	240	25500 Sticklack
Paurkaes	66200	
Romalls	3485	
Sheets Agra	52	
Sorts	47	
Sovaguzzees	2880	

TRADE DEVELOPMENT. The beginnings

A minority are probably really interested in reforms ; universities and public works have been started and in some cases Legislative Councils have been set up. A considerable number of them, however, still regard the State as their personal property and are of opinion that their subjects should toil for them, not they for their subjects. Lord Curzon in 1900 reminded them that they must not consider themselves ' a privileged body to whom God had given a sanad (charter) of perpetual idleness '. On the whole, however, there has certainly been an advance. Lord Hardinge in 1913 initiated the policy of inviting them to a conference in which matters

of general Indian interest could be discussed ; on which occasion the Maharaja of Bikanir said, 'We are confident that your Excellency will convene similar meetings . . . in which our deliberations will not only be of the greatest advantage to ourselves but also, we hope, of some value to the Imperial Government '. The magnificent services rendered by India during the late war, and the part taken by the Maharaja of Bikanir in the Imperial Conference, have shown the wisdom and the value of this policy.



TRADE DEVELOPMENT. P. & O. S.N. Co.'s s.s. *Mooltan*, 21,000 tons gross (left), and B.I.S.N. Co.'s s.s. *Tairea*, 8,000 tons gross, at Gibraltar.

Great endeavours have also been made to improve the material well-being of the Indian peasantry. Three-quarters of these depend for their livelihood on agriculture, with a holding which only averages an acre and a quarter per head. Therefore great skill, unceasing toil, and the most rigid economy are necessary. The system of communication started by Lord Dalhousie commenced to break down the isolated life in the village communities. The American Civil War in 1861 gave a great impetus to the growing of cotton,

and the Indian cotton crop is now the second largest in the world. Bombay is to-day a considerable centre for the cotton industry, Calcutta for jute. Coal and iron are being worked in increasing quantities, and there is taking place in India something of an Industrial Revolution. The Government has fostered this movement, to prevent the population from being entirely dependent on agriculture and at the mercy of periodic famines. These are caused by the failure of the monsoons which carry rain. But thanks to the railways which can bring food, and the Famine Code, whereby relief works are started to provide employment, the suffering caused by these famines is far less than in former times. But this Industrial Revolution has itself given rise to new problems. Labour conditions in many of the Indian factories are notoriously bad, and the housing conditions terrible. Unfortunately the late war, which did much to develop the industries, delayed the passing of factory and housing legislation, which is now under the consideration of the Councils. As India's industrial prosperity increases, it is to be hoped that an endeavour will be made to set her educational system on a more satisfactory basis. Lord Curzon did much to improve it, and the subjects taught, especially in the elementary schools, were brought more into touch with the life of the people. But the numbers attending at the elementary and secondary schools are very small, and female education is still in a most rudimentary stage. With no firm foundation upon which to build, university education is inevitably unreal and superficial. Difficulties of expense and of religion partly account for this weakness, and there is the question whether the subjects of study are not still too definitely Western in character. But certainly a population so largely illiterate will find it increasingly difficult to advance farther along the road of governmental progress.

This educational advance is the more necessary, since it has been decided that Indians are to be more and more responsible for their own government. The Indian Councils Act of 1861, with the Amending Act of 1892, provided for

Legislative Councils in the Presidencies and the association of selected Indians in the work of government. The Morley-Minto reforms of 1909 widened the activities of these Councils and empowered them to move resolutions on matters of public interest. Various classes and interests, such as corporations and universities, were allowed representation. But the power to criticize without the prospect of ever having to assume responsibility for a constructive policy, can only lead to friction, and the system set up in 1909 was not found satisfactory. In 1917, at the instance of Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, an inquiry was undertaken 'with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire'. Based on the Report,¹ a Bill for Indian reform was passed in the House of Commons, December 1919. The principle adopted in this measure is to divide governmental business into two classes. One class—the Reserved subjects—are dealt with, as before, by the central and provincial authorities, and not controlled by elected councils. The other class—the Transferred subjects—are dealt with in each Province by ministers chosen from the Legislative Councils. These have now, for the first time, the great majority of their members elected on a moderate franchise qualification. The minority—the officials—in each Council have considerable discretionary powers of speaking and voting. Revenue is divided in the same way, certain subjects of taxation being set apart for each. 'An increasing association of Indians in every branch of the public service' is provided for, and the line of development contemplated is to increase the number of Transferred subjects, and to lessen the number of Reserved subjects. In the King's speech, read by the Duke of Connaught at the inauguration of the new Indian Council of State and Legislative Assembly at Delhi, there occurred the words 'for years patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their Motherland. To-day you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire and

¹ The Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy'.

Thus in the words of Lord Sinha, himself an Indian and for some time the Secretary of State for India in the Cabinet at Westminster, 'a bridge has been provided whereby Indians may pass . . . to a form of Government under which they will control their own destinies'. Yet India to-day is profoundly disturbed. Briefly to sum up all the elements which have produced the unrest would be impossible, but certain factors may be clearly distinguished. The result of the Russo-Japanese war of 1904 sent a thrill throughout the whole Eastern world. The 'invincible West' had been defeated by an Eastern nation. The inevitable result of the introduction of Western education in India has been the development of national aspirations and a desire to govern among the few who have benefited by it. Undaunted by the paucity of their own numbers and the indifference of the vast agricultural population, by lack of political experience and by diversity of religions, the members of the Indian 'intelligentsia' advocated with increasing vigour the cause of self-government. Some were in favour of a democratic ideal on Western lines, and would have welcomed the abolition of caste distinctions, while others viewed with disfavour Western civilization and not without reason advocated the development of oriental ideals of self-government. Organizations such as the Arya Samaj,¹ the Servants of India, and the Muslim League created a spirit of independence, but in spite of the efforts of some political leaders their activities tended to foster the spirit of the community rather than that of the nation as a whole. Unity of purpose has been hampered by the tardy acceptance of Western education by the land-holding class and their suspicion of the motives of an educated middle class of the cities. In the Indian National Congress, composed of representatives from widely separated areas of different beliefs and different races, local religious and racial jealousies have from

¹ The Arya Samaj was originally an association to revive old Indian cults and practices.

time to time created serious faction, that still postpones the achievement of Dominion Home Rule, which was incorporated into the Congress programme as far back as 1905.

But the younger generation felt that the National Congress made too little demand upon them. Filled with the self-sacrificing spirit of youth, inspired with a passionate love for their country and her romantic past, they felt that the pious resolutions of the Congress were too slow for them: they must give practical expression to their zeal. The result has been the Non-Co-operation movement under Ghandi, whom multitudes in India reverence as something more than a saint. The business community has been stirred by the attempt of England, as it believes, to exploit India for its own advantage by the imposition of tariffs, and demands complete control of India's fiscal system. The Muhammadan section has been deeply agitated by the treatment of Turkey in the late war, and resents the attempt of the Allies to despoil and discredit the head of their religion. The restrictions placed upon Indians in other parts of the Commonwealth, especially in South and East Africa, have long been resented as a slur on the national character.

India, therefore, as a whole is dissatisfied and suspicious. Faced with new problems, it has no belief in the reality of the solution which has been offered. To change the centre of political gravity is always a delicate and a dangerous task; still more so in India, which has had no experience in democracy and where considerations of race and of religion complicate the issue. But, as the Duke of Connaught said after he had formally declared open the Council of State and Legislative Assembly, 'My experience tells me that misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all, British and Indians, to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realize the hopes that arise from to-day.'



XI

THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

ONE of the most surprising things about Australia, that land of surprises, is that it was not settled till so late. When the first shipload from England arrived at what is now Sydney, Canada had been colonized for 150 years and America had won her independence. The reason was partly accidental. Magellan, whose ship was the first to sail right round the world, had kept too far north to sight Australia ; Drake and the other early voyagers in those little-known seas tended to follow the track of those who had gone before, and it was at first assumed that there was no land in the South Pacific. Nor was there any reason why these early seamen should attempt exploration in that direction. It was not land they wanted, but trade—the spices, the drugs, and the precious stuffs of India and the East. It was for that reason that America, when first discovered by the Spaniards, was considered merely as a barrier on what might have been a quicker route to India. It was only with the opening of the gold and silver mines in Mexico and Peru that America seemed a desirable possession.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, the Portuguese almost certainly knew of Australia's existence. But in 1493 Pope Alexander VI, to prevent disputes between the Portuguese and Spanish explorers, had drawn a line from north to south, and had settled that all new lands discovered

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to the east of that line should belong to Portugal, and all to the west should belong to Spain.¹ This line ran through Australian waters, and so neither Portuguese nor Spaniards wanted to discover or publish charts of those lands which might be awarded to their rival. The Dutch, however, who in the latter part of the sixteenth century were becoming the



NEW SOUTH WALES, 1824. Natives and canoes. Note the swans and the eucalyptus trees

most important European trading power in the East, had no such reason to stay them from discovery. It was a Dutch navigator who suggested the short cut from the Cape to Batavia across the Indian Ocean to take advantage of the westerlies which blow in the latitude of the Cape. The Dutch had explored a good deal of the northern coast of Australia

¹ In the first few years of the sixteenth century there was much rivalry between Spaniards and Portuguese in the East Indian Ocean and the Pacific. But in 1529 Portugal bought up Spanish claims in that part of the world.

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some time before the English appeared, and it was one of the definite landmarks for ships sailing to the Spice Islands. But the north and west of Australia are the less attractive coasts ; it is a continent that seems to turn its back on the Old World. So the Dutch, intent upon their trade, had no interest in following up their discovery. This same characteristic helps to explain why Australia was never settled from Asia, which comes so near to its northern point. Besides, Asiatics are not colonizers : the only powers in Asia sufficiently organized to undertake settlements had their hands very busy at home, and were not inclined to spread into a country which, in climate and conditions, was in every way dissimilar from their own.

Australia's first connexion with England was towards the end of the seventeenth century, when Dampier, sailing the South Seas in very questionable company, became acquainted with it. He came to England and was granted a ship by the Government to survey and report upon this land. But he found the west coast unattractive, as others had done before him, and Australia was left undisturbed in her isolation. Nearly a hundred years later, in 1769, Captain Cook was sent out to the South Seas in command of a scientific expedition, to observe the transit of Venus. He was instructed on his way back to do what he could towards surveying the almost unknown regions to the south of the Pacific. The idea of development over seas was strong in England : she had won her great colonial victory over France in 1760 with the conquest of Canada ; Clive, after the British success at Buxar in 1764, was establishing on a firm basis our power in Bengal. England was in the mood to follow up her victory, should opportunity offer, by extending her power into the Pacific. Cook's commission was to advance ' the honour of this nation as a maritime power . . . and the trade and navigation thereof '. His secret instructions directed him ' with the consent of the natives to take possession, in the name of the king of Great Britain, of convenient situations in such countries as you may

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discover that have not already been visited by any other European power'. The time was opportune for the attempt, and England was no less fortunate in the men she chose to undertake it. It was largely due to Captain Cook that scurvy, the seamen's dreaded scourge, was being overcome, and thus long sea voyages were becoming more possible; to him also was due the development of the chronometer, by which longitude could be measured and the position of a ship could be ascertained with accuracy. He was a skilful surveyor, and with the aid of Sir Joseph Banks and the other scientists in the expedition a most accurate record was kept of all their discoveries.

First they struck New Zealand and charted a good deal of the coast-line; then they came to Australia. The discovery of Australia has always been associated with Captain Cook, and rightly so, for he was the first to explore the eastern coast; all the others had approached it from the west. It is the south-east that has been the attractive district for settlers, and at the present time nearly five-sixths of the whole white population of Australasia is in New Zealand and South-Eastern Australia. Sir Joseph Banks was enthusiastic about the new country; at one spot where they touched, the profusion and variety of the wild flowers led him to call it Botany Bay. He vowed that such a paradise as this must be linked to the English Crown, and in the King's name they took possession of the whole of the east of the continent, and called it New South Wales.

On the return of the expedition, Sir Joseph Banks, whose enthusiasm for the future of Australia never flagged, pressed the Government to take steps for the settlement of the country. For the moment England was fully occupied with the war of American Independence; but after the Peace of Versailles had been signed, the Government was faced with the twofold problem of how to provide for the Empire Loyalists, and where to send the convicts who previously had been sent to America. In some quarters it was suggested that the Empire Loyalists should be established in New South Wales.

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But the Government could not make up its mind ; finally, as has been seen, they were given land in Canada, and it was with convicts that the first Australian settlement was chiefly made. This was before Peel had reformed the Penal Code : transportation was then the penalty for many offences which would be considered slight to-day—poaching, for instance. And a poacher has many qualities which are likely to be useful to the settler in a new country.

The date and circumstances of the starting of the new colony had a very important effect upon its future growth. In 1788 the institution of slavery within the British Dominions was on its last legs. An agricultural settlement cannot prosper unless there are supplies of labour available. The Australian natives were so few in number and in their ways of life so unsuitable that they would not have served this purpose. There would almost certainly have been a strong demand for slaves, or for some form of indentured labour, had not the presence of convicts solved the difficulty. These were employed on the land, and when they had served their time they settled down as farmers themselves, and in the free life of a new country, seeing a chance of making a future for themselves, many proved themselves hardworking, straight-living, adventurous, the backbone of the country. Sir W. Molesworth, speaking before the House of Commons Committee in 1837, said : ‘ The condition of a transported convict is merely a lottery ; it may and does range between the extremes of comfort and misery. . . . Convicts were employed as constables in the Police, as overseers of road parties ; the better-educated as superintendents of estates, as clerks to bankers, to lawyers, to shop-keepers, and as tutors in private families.’ Indeed between 1820 and 1830 the best private school in Sydney was kept by one Halloran, who had originally been transported.¹ The liberal period in Colonial policy had begun ; none of the trade regulations

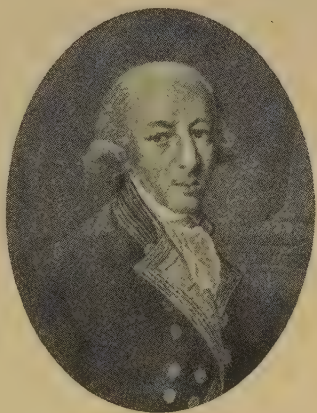
¹ In 1818 he was charged at the Old Bailey with having forged a frank, by which the revenue was cheated of tenpence, on a letter addressed to the rector whose church he was serving.

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which had so irked America were imposed on Australia. There was no danger from natives, such as existed in Canada or South Africa : there were no settlers of another European race, such as the French in Quebec or the Dutch at the Cape, to create difficult governmental problems. In many ways, Australia may be said to have been fortunate in the circumstance of its foundation.

In 1788 Captain Phillip arrived with the first shipload of convicts near the site of the present Sydney. He and many of his officers had visions of Empire in their minds : ' I hope the foundation of an Empire will be dated from May 1787.' For some time the new settlement had its hands full ; the country immediately round Sydney is poor, and the colony was nearly starved. No attempt was made to explore the interior. But the activity of the French caused some anxiety. There was some talk in France, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, of colonization in the South Seas, and there were several French expeditions whose ' scientific ' activities the English Government viewed with suspicion. Bass and Flinders explored a good deal of the coast, and it was determined to plant English settlements in Tasmania (at Hobart on the Derwent) and on the north shore of Bass Strait at Port Phillip, to make good the English claim. Thus the first step forward taken by Australia was on the sea, and its first development was as a sealing and whaling centre.

Till 1813 no one had yet been more than fifty miles inland. But Captain MacArthur, an officer in one of the regiments stationed there to guard the convicts, had been struck by the possibilities of the great grass-lands, and had been experi-



GOVERNOR PHILLIP

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menting with sheep-breeding. He first procured some sheep from Bengal, but they were not satisfactory and their wool was poor. Then he was fortunate enough to get hold of some Spanish merino sheep from England and from the Cape. This breed is hardy and wiry, and flourishes best in rather poor dry pastures ; its wool is the finest in the world.



H.M.S. *Sirius* carrying Governor Phillip at Botany Bay

Their original home was in Spain ; they had been one of the sources of her wealth in the latter middle ages and were guarded very jealously. But on occasions the Spanish king had made a present of a few of them to some ruler as a mark of peculiar friendship. In this way some had come to Saxony and had started the famous Saxony flocks whose wool during the eighteenth century was in great demand. The Dutch had also been given some, and they had sent a few to their settlement at the Cape, to improve the breed there. George III, being a keen farmer, also wanted some. The wife of the Spanish ambassador in England had a weakness for cream-

coloured horses, similar to those that drew the royal coach. A team was presented to her ; and it was suggested that the gift of some merino sheep in return would be acceptable. Through the kindly aid of some Spanish smugglers, these were obtained. MacArthur was able to obtain some of these



AN AUSTRALIAN MERINO SHEEP

prized sheep from the royal stud farm at Windsor ; and our capture of the Cape from the Dutch during the French War enabled him to get an additional supply from there.¹

With the growing flocks came need of more room. Attempts had been made to cross the Blue Mountains, which hemmed in all advance westwards ; but the valleys along which the explorers went all ended sooner or later in a high wall of cliff

¹ The Rev. Samuel Marsden, native of Farsley, Leeds, who went out as Second Chaplain to New South Wales in 1793, also experimented in sheep-breeding. In 1807 he brought back specimens of his wool to Leeds, and on this visit had an interview with George III.



SYDNEY IN 1803

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which blocked further progress. In 1813 Wentworth made an expedition which avoided the valleys and kept along the tops. He won his way over to the Murray Basin and opened up the magnificent rolling grass-lands of New South Wales with pasturage for countless millions of sheep. Though it was only dimly realized at the time, he had blazed the trail along which Australia was to advance triumphantly. Further exploration followed ; Captain Sturt explored the Murray to its mouth. Sheep followed the explorer, and wool became Australia's chief export.¹

During the next fifteen years new settlements were founded in rapid succession, partly in consequence of fear of the French, partly from economic reasons. A French exploring expedition in 1824 led to the settlement of military posts in the extreme corners of the continent to prevent any danger of French occupation. They were at Melville Island in the north, Western Port in the south-east, and King George's Sound in the south-west. Soon afterwards, Fremantle landed at the Swan River and officially claimed for England all that part of the continent that had not up till then been occupied. Fired with enthusiasm at the distinctly optimistic report of the country round the Swan River, Thomas Peel, a cousin of Sir Robert, determined to found a colony there, and over a thousand settlers were sent out from England in 1829. Thus Western Australia started. Further exploration of the country south of the Murray led to the occupation, without the Government's permission, of the site of Melbourne in 1834 by Batman ; he crossed over Bass Strait from Tasmania, where there was a flourishing colony. Trouble there with bushrangers and natives, as well as the need for more room, led to a considerable exodus to what is now Victoria.

The founding of South Australia, however, proceeded on a new plan. For some time it had been realized that the

¹ For further details of Australia's share in the development of the Woollen Industry, see *The Golden Fleece* by Morris and Wood (Clarendon Press).

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system of colonizing Australia mainly with convicts was a bad one. A very large number of the convicts died—in 1833 the total population of Australia was less than the number of convicts who had been sent out, in spite of a certain amount of free emigration ; for the greater proportion of the inhabitants were men ; and transportation gave the whole colony a criminal taint. Convicts had to be employed in important positions, such as schoolmasters, newspaper editors, and managers of businesses, simply because there was no one else to employ. But without labour the colony could not go on. After the Napoleonic War, there took place a big rush of emigrants to Canada, as many as 50,000 going in one year. But Australia was so far off and the passage so expensive, that not many went there ; and the need of labour in the developing colony was so great, that the convict system alone could not supply it. A group of men in England made an attempt to get the transportation system stopped, and to substitute ' assisted emigration ' for it ; the chief of these was Gibbon Wakefield. His idea was that all land in a newly discovered territory should be sold by the Crown to settlers at a fairly high price ; the money thus raised should be spent in giving help to others who might want to emigrate, and loans should be raised on the security of the land and spent on public works, such as road-making and building. A supply of labour would be assured for the farmers, because the new emigrants would have to work for wages for some few years, till they could save enough money to buy land for themselves.

An attempt was made to put this idea into practice in South Australia, and the first settlers arrived in 1836, to found Adelaide. Unfortunately the system was not given a fair trial : men of the wrong type were placed in charge. Much money was wasted ; men speculated in land instead of farming it, and the State got into difficulties, from which Captain Grey, the new Governor, rescued it in 1841, when he persuaded the British Government to pay off its debt and let it start clear. But the ideas of Gibbon Wakefield if more

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fully carried out would have prevented what is one of the most mischievous sides of colonization, that is, the wasteful granting away of a new Colony's resources to land-jobbers and men with back-stair influence. In actual practice they resulted in the foundation of the Land and Emigration Board in 1840, and in the Act of Parliament of 1842, by which land in Australia was to be sold by auction for a minimum price of 20s. an acre, half of the proceeds to be spent on assisting emigrants to the colony. It was about this time that the transportation of convicts began to stop (to New South Wales, 1840; to Tasmania, whither at first unassigned convicts were removed, in 1853; to Western Australia in 1867¹), and it was this system of assisted emigration that helped the Australian farmers during this critical period when the supply of labour might otherwise have almost failed.

In 1851 a man called Hargreaves turned up in the office of the Governor of New South Wales, and produced from his waistcoat pocket a tiny paper packet, which he asked the Governor carefully to examine. Putting on his spectacles, the Governor discovered in the packet a few grains of gold. Two years before, the gold rush to California had started; men had flocked thither from all over the world, and large numbers had gone from Australia. Hargreaves had been one; but struck by the similarity between the gold-producing country in California, and the country round his own home at Bathurst, he came back, and went prospecting; this was the result. It opened a new era for Australia. The exodus from Ireland following on the great famine of 1845, and the failure of the great movement for more liberal government throughout Europe in 1848, resulted in a great increase of emigration to Australia of men with somewhat advanced political views. With this new discovery, the stream of emigration swelled to a torrent; there was a rush for the new gold-fields, not only throughout New South Wales and Victoria but from all over

¹ Transportation to Western Australia did not commence till 1850. It was never on a large scale.

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the world. Victoria promptly offered a reward for the discovery of gold within its own territory. The gold-fields of Ballarat and Bendigo were the result. Madness fell upon the people. Farmers left their lands, clerks their offices; as the ships came into port the crews deserted. All flocked to the gold-fields to try their luck in the new El Dorado. The



Diggers waiting for Licences, Forrest Creek

population of Australia, which in 1850 was about 400,000, within eight years was well over a million. But the fairy story was not yet over. Though by about 1860 the rush in Victoria was over, and gold-mining had become a settled industry with expensive machinery and miners working for wages, in 1870 there was a new discovery in Queensland.

Finally, in 1892 Western Australia, last but not least, contributed her share with the discovery of the 'Golden Mile' at Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie, from which some £70,000,000 have been taken in twenty years. The rush that followed led to Western Australia being brought into touch with the east, from which till then it had been isolated.

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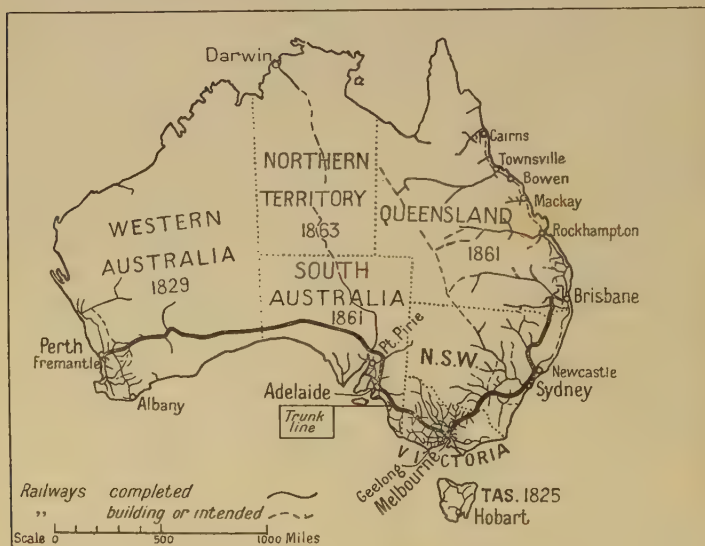
But simultaneously with gold came another development hardly less important for Australia's future. In 1852 the first steamship reached Melbourne. In the early days if the voyage out had been made in four months, it was reckoned a good passage. This time had been cut down to about two and a half months by the famous China tea-clippers, with their towering spread of canvas, racing one another across the globe, the fastest sailing-ships the world had ever seen. The new steamers were soon able to do the voyage in six weeks, and to do it with regularity, independent of winds. Australia now felt herself in touch with Europe ; she could begin to produce for the European markets. Soon came refrigerating machinery : meat and dairy produce took their place among Australia's exports. By this time the telegraph and cable had linked together the various states and joined them up with the Old World. Australia began to feel herself one continent, instead of a collection of isolated settlements.

The increase of population naturally involved changes in the method of government, especially as most of the emigrants had been used to complete self-government in their previous homes. Until 1842 each state was practically under the control of the Governor appointed from England, though since 1823 he had a council to advise him. But with the publication of Lord Durham's Report on Canada, the idea of self-government for the colonies was practically established ; and this movement coincided naturally and suitably with the abolition of the transportation system. After a brief period of rather limited Representative Government, the British Government in 1850 passed an Act practically allowing the Australian Colonies to settle their own form of government for themselves, and Responsible Government followed in 1855-6 in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. It was set up in the other states as their population warranted it, in Western Australia, the last to receive it, in 1890. In this way friction or hostility between the Australians and the Home Government was avoided, and

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Australia escaped the turmoils America had gone through. If things went wrong, it was the Australians' own Government that was to blame, and it was in the power of the Australians themselves to set it right.

The next step was to join all the states together under one central government. This was not easy. It had not been easy in Canada, where the presence across the border of a strong



foreign power of questionable friendliness had made the matter of Federation a very pressing one. In Australia there seemed no danger from without; within, the various states, established at such long distances from each other and with very varying interests, had developed a very strong and jealous local life. Hence, although Federation had been suggested by more than one English statesman, nothing had come of it. But in 1850 the era of railways began. How little Australia then thought itself a single state may be judged by the fact, that each local state adopted a different

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breadth of gauge for its lines ; consequently through-trains from state to state were impossible.¹ Still, it was the beginning of unification. Then came the activity of Germany in New Guinea in 1883 ; and New Guinea is very close to the mainland. The Premier of Queensland, MacIlwraith, called a conference of the other Premiers to consider the matter. It was felt that this was an affair which concerned all Australia. As a result, almost in spite of the Home Government, part of New Guinea was annexed. In 1890 a convention to draft a federal scheme began its sessions. The official occupation of Samoa by Germany in 1899 drove the need of union home. A referendum was held in the same year, asking all the electors in the several states whether they were in favour of a federation : the answer was ' Yes '. Not only was it desirable that there should be a common Australian policy in the Pacific, but it was felt that in many other questions, important for the development of the country, united action was essential. There was need of free trade between the states and of a common principle in settling labour disputes. Consequently in 1900 the Commonwealth of Australia came into existence. But even then local feeling showed itself in the type of constitution chosen. Instead of a ' strong ' federal government being set up as in Canada, Australia has a ' weak ' one : the functions assigned to the Central Federal Government are limited to such matters as trade and currency, immigration, questions of marriage and the welfare of children and aged persons, defence and external affairs. Most of the other subjects are ' reserved ' by the individual states.

The form of government that may be set up in a country is one thing ; the spirit in which the Government works is quite a different thing and depends on public opinion and tradition. In the early days of Australia, when she was a convict settlement, everybody depended on the Governor for everything ; he supplied rations, settled how and where each

¹ A trans-continental line of one gauge has just been completed from Melbourne to Perth.

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man was to work and decided all disputes. When transportation ceased, there came assisted emigration; that is, the new colonists were men with little capital, who still looked to the Government for help in their difficulties. Thus there grew up a tradition that Government should concern itself with things which in other countries individuals were left to settle for themselves. This was rendered possible by another circumstance. The population of each state was small, and largely concentrated in the towns where there was a good deal of sweated labour, and political theories of the type of 'Three acres and a cow' had much influence. In addition, the loans necessary for development could be obtained on better terms by the state than by private firms. Instead therefore of confining Government to the negative business of preventing disorder, men looked on it as an active instrument for social development. Thus Australia has made various political experiments some of which have afterwards been adopted in England; for example, Victoria was the first country in the world to try voting by ballot and Trade Boards.

For many years therefore the Government have made themselves responsible for all means of transport—railways, tramways, ferries; they have recently extended their activity to shipping and own the Commonwealth line of steamers to Europe. They have provided works of public utility, such as parks and hospitals; and have supported various agencies for improving the resources and trade of the Commonwealth, such as a state bank, experimental farms, and informative bureaux in other countries. Everywhere the state is the chief teacher and adviser; pedigree stock is imported, experiments are conducted with varieties of seeds suitable for withstanding drought, facilities for cold-storage are provided and exported meat and dairy produce is sent out under a government guarantee. But the two most interesting departments with which the Government concerns itself are land and industrial questions. After the gold rush was over, Australia found her-

self with a large number of men, of all sorts and conditions, who wanted land for farming but had little capital. But much of the land had been taken up by squatters who held it on lease—for from the first, government ownership of land not sold or given away was insisted on. The problem was, how to get the land back from the squatters. From 1861 to 1890 Acts were passed in some of the states, especially in Victoria and New South Wales, enabling a man to select a block of 320 acres which, after he had cultivated it for three years, would become his own. This, however, gave rise to many difficulties and on the whole has not been much of a success. Since 1892 the principle has been adopted of giving the state powers of compulsory purchase, with a view to breaking up large estates. The state assesses the land at a certain sum for the purpose of rates ; if the squatter appeals against the assessment, the state must either buy the land at that figure, or reduce the assessment.

In order to settle 'small men' on the land, the experiment was tried of selling or leasing land to co-operative associations ; each settler owns his holding but all agree to cultivate it in accordance with certain rules. In some instances the profits are pooled and then shared out. In general those associations have succeeded best in which the co-operative regulations have not been too rigid and where more has been left to individual management. But the principle of advancing money to settlers has been very successful : the money is lent at 5 per cent. ; after five years the settler begins to pay it back, in half-yearly instalments of principal and interest. Up to 1907 Victoria had advanced over £2,000,000, and the total arrears of repayment only amounted to about £100.

In the State's industrial experiments, the general idea has been to secure for the citizen a sufficient wage for self-improvement, and sufficient leisure to make use of it. The eight-hour day, first demanded in Sydney in 1855, is now almost universal. In 1896, following on a series of big strikes, Wages Boards were set up in Victoria and South Australia, con-

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sisting half of employers, half of employees, to fix rates of pay. By this means sweating has been almost abolished. Then, following the example of New Zealand, Industrial Arbitration Courts were set up in New South Wales in 1899 ; the parties in an industrial dispute are brought before a Court, of which the President is a Judge, and the other members are



SHEEP FARMING. Mustering

appointed equally by employers and employed. The case is heard in open Court, and the President has full powers to summon witnesses and, under secrecy, to examine books. The finding of the Court is legally binding on both parties. Thus it was hoped a public opinion would be created which would be opposed to the crude method of settling disputes by strikes. In practice, however, arbitration has not been a success, and there still take place between four and five hundred disputes a year involving a loss in wages of several million pounds.

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At present Australia shows every sign of progressing rapidly. Drought has been a great handicap in the past ; but the coastal lands are abundantly watered, and much has been done to combat this disadvantage in the interior. Great locks and dams are being built on the Murray and Darling to conserve the water for irrigation, and the subterranean



SHEEP FARMING. Shearing Shed

water which exists in a considerable part of the dry lands is being tapped by artesian wells, sometimes as much as 3,000 ft. deep. These in all yield 429,000,000 gallons of water daily.¹ The east coast lands are excellent for general farming ; it is on the dryer lands of the interior that the great sheep runs are found—some as big as forty miles square, though in some cases they may only carry about one sheep to fifteen acres. Even here agriculture is developing with the discovery of a variety of wheat which will flourish with less than 20 inches

¹ This is the figure for 1919.

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of rainfall. Thus Australia is becoming one of the great agricultural countries. This is partly due to the policy of breaking up the great estates, and partly to the increased demand for, and facilities in marketing, agricultural products.

The mineral wealth of the country is amazing ; as yet the surface is hardly scratched. In addition to gold (now found



A BEEF COOLING ROOM. Refrigeration has allowed Australia and New Zealand to develop their export of meat

in every state) and other precious metals, in Victoria there is a great brown coal deposit which is to be used in the near future for the production of cheap electric power for the Melbourne trams and factories. Tasmania also has a great scheme for utilizing its water-power to produce electricity. In New South Wales there is abundance of easily-worked coal, and at Newcastle, right in the heart of the coal district, big iron-works have grown up. Both coal and steel are cheap, and

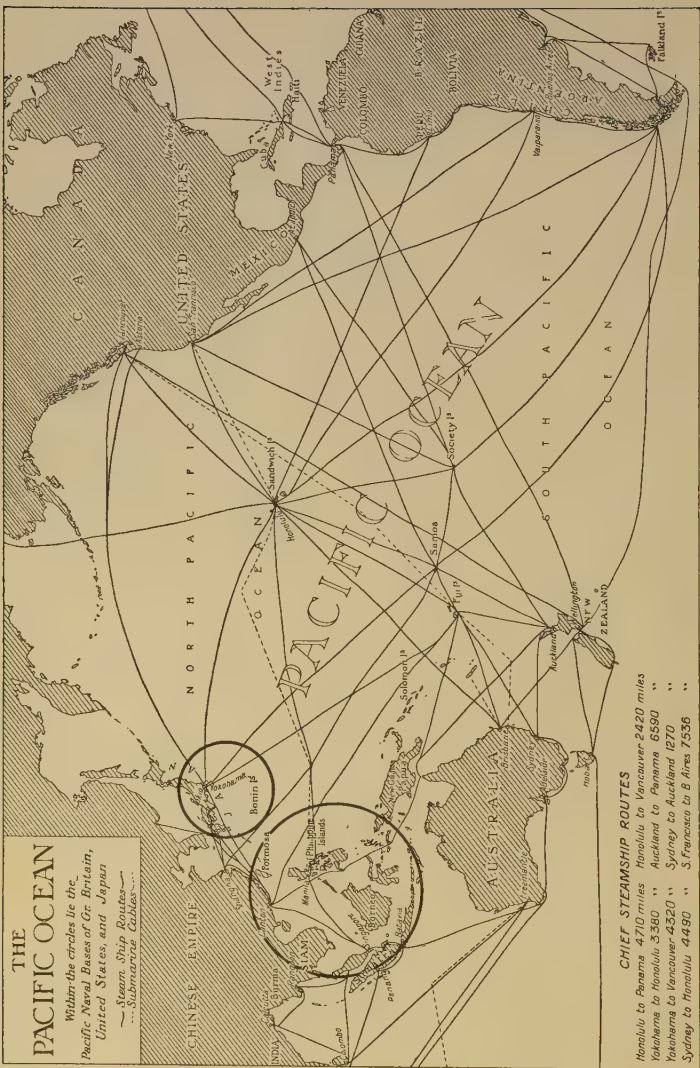
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in this direction England may have difficulty in the future in maintaining her trade. But the presence of this coal and iron means something even more important. Australia produces the largest quantity and the finest quality of wool in the world, and at the great wool sales, whether at Sydney and the other Australian centres, or in London, this is competed for by manufacturers in all parts of the world—English, German, American, Japanese. Now Australia has begun to spin and weave the wool for herself, and the Government is subsidizing the experiment. The climate is not very suitable, and there are not very good markets for manufactured woollens close to Australia. But she will probably very soon be supplying her own needs, and perhaps rather more. This serves as a reminder of the extent to which the manufactures of Great Britain depend on the raw materials produced in the various parts of the Commonwealth and Empire, and of the need of developing them wisely with a view to the benefit of all, both of ourselves and of those who shall come after.



THE PACIFIC OCEAN

Within the circles lie the
Pacific Naval Bases of Great Britain,
United States, and Japan
— Steam Ship Routes —
— Submarine Cables —



CHIEF STEAMSHIP ROUTES

Honolulu to Panama 4710 miles Honolulu to Vancouver 2420 miles
Yokohama to Honolulu 3380 " Auckland to Panama 6590
Yokohama to Vancouver 4320 " Sydney to Auckland 1270
Sydney to Honolulu 4490 " S. Francisco to B. Aires 7556



XII

NEW ZEALAND AND THE PACIFIC

ENGLISH people in the past have been somewhat apt to class Australia and New Zealand together as 'Australasia' and to forget how very different the two countries really are, both in their climate and in the problems of their government. The special characteristic of Australia is space. In the vast sheeplands up-country, the traveller finds great stretches of undulating grass-land, green in winter but burnt to a dry brown in summer, dotted with gaunt gum trees, some living, some dead. He follows the vague track that leads from one water tank to the next, many miles away. The track grows vaguer and vaguer ; is it a track at all ? Ought he perhaps to have followed what looked like a branch track some miles back ? The grass waves around him, the sky is bright overhead and he pushes on ; nothing happens. At last, exhausted, he can go no farther ; the sky is still bright, and the country still smiles. But behind that smile there is awfulness, mystery, death. Man, on those up-country stations, wages light-heartedly a grim and unceasing battle with Nature. In the long narrow islands of New Zealand, on the other hand, the climate is sunny but fresh like England at her best ; sea and mountains give it sufficient rain, and the vegetation is luxuriant. The first things that strike the eye in any picture of New Zealand scenery are the stately trees and wonderful ferns. The hill-country is used for the raising of sheep, large numbers of which are sent to the rich Canterbury plains to

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be fattened. Thus a considerable proportion of the New Zealand flocks, like those of the coastal regions of East Australia, are bred rather with a view to mutton.

The natives in Australia are so few in number, and so backward in civilization, that they have had little influence on the development of the country. But the Maoris in New Zealand are one of the most interesting native races in the world. They are of a splendid physique and often beautiful

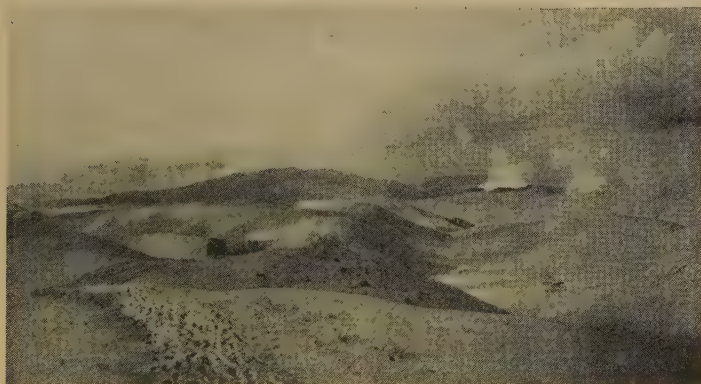


Carved Maori House, Waro, New Zealand. The debris which half buries it is from a volcanic eruption

even when judged by European standards. Indeed their type of feature is not very different from that of a European. They had a civilization that was considerably developed when we came to the Islands,¹ and a nature chivalrous and responsive. Now that the unfortunate wars, into which misunderstandings led us, are over, the Maoris are showing a capacity to assimilate our civilization and the two peoples are settling down side by side in a very interesting way. Maoris sit as members in the New Zealand parliament, play football with New Zealand teams, and formed part of the contingents that New Zealand sent over to fight in the late war.

¹ Though it is true that they ate their prisoners after a victory.

The first white settlers in New Zealand were mainly sailors who deserted from the whaling ships, or South Sea traders of a somewhat adventurous kind. The New Zealand Company, which was mainly instrumental in bringing about the colonization of the islands, had to face the determined opposition of the Church Missionary Society, who had started missionary work there in 1814. But in the second phase of the colonization, Gibbon Wakefield,¹ remembering his troubles with the missionary societies and the important part that religion had



Volcanic New Zealand. The great eruption of Tarawera, 1886

played in settling the American Colonies, enlisted the support of the Churches. In co-operation with the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Presbyterian settlements were made in Otago ; settlements of Anglicans were planted in Canterbury. Thus on the whole New Zealand obtained a good type of colonist. The cooler climate, which inclines people to spend more time indoors in reading and similar pursuits, has helped to maintain the level of culture among the mass of the people.

Till about 1835 New Zealand may be said to have had no history as a Colony. Though it had been discovered by Tasman and explored by Captain Cook, the founding of settle-

¹ See pp. 281-2.

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ments there had been strongly opposed by the Church Missionary Society, on the ground that white men would introduce an undesirable element among the natives. But when the whale and seal fisheries started in the South Seas, parts of New Zealand were found convenient bases; the Maoris, quick to appreciate the possibilities of fire-arms in their tribal wars, were anxious to purchase muskets on generous terms from such traders as cared to sell them; and in the trading ships from Australia a certain number of convicts escaped to the islands. To keep some sort of control over these unruly elements, New Zealand was placed nominally under the control of the Governor of New South Wales; in 1817 the New South Wales Court was given the power to try offences committed in New Zealand. But at the same time it was definitely stated that New Zealand was 'not within His Majesty's dominions'. That is to say, the Government of England at the time could not make up its mind what it really wanted; but it would be unfair to say this attitude was merely due to incompetence. It had a very honourable side to it. Public opinion had been aroused as to the position and rights of coloured races; one result of this movement had been the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions; another result was a determination that the natives of, for instance, New Zealand ought not to be harried out of their lands simply because white people wanted to occupy them.

Missionary enterprise in the Pacific was one natural outcome of this humanitarian movement. Men such as Marsden, the Chaplain to the Governor of New South Wales who went to New Zealand in 1814, were full of zeal and courage. Apart from the actual converts they made, their influence was great; they did much to discredit and check cannibalism, slavery, and inter-tribal warfare. It is also due to missionary effort that the Maori language has been scientifically reduced to writing. But in the early days inadequate salaries led some missionaries to engage in trade and in the purchase of land. The activities of many—though not of all—of the traders had

been brutal and callous, and from 1818 to 1838 the history of New Zealand and the Pacific is an appalling record of war and bloodshed. The missionaries tended to sweep all traders, good and bad, into the same condemnation, and to aim at setting up, not only in New Zealand, but in Tahiti, Fiji, Tonga and elsewhere, a type of native community from which all white influence other than missionary would be excluded. The attempt was not unnatural in the circumstances, but it was unwise and impracticable, as Marsden recognized from the first. But at a critical period the Colonial Secretary was Lord Glenelg (1835-9) and the permanent Under-Secretary was Sir J. Stephen (1836-47)—both strong supporters of the Church Missionary Society. When disputes arose between traders and missionaries the point of view of the latter was often accepted by the Colonial Office without an impartial weighing of the evidence. After 1850 the worst elements of lawlessness in the Pacific had been checked, largely owing to the work of the British Navy. In the moral and social improvements which have taken place a very large part has been played by such men as the heroic Bishop Selwyn, who founded the Melanesian Mission in 1849, Bishop Patteson who was murdered in the Santa Cruz Islands in 1871, the Rev. Dr. G. Brown, and other medical missionaries.

When in 1837 the New Zealand Association was formed, under the influence of Gibbon Wakefield, systematically to colonize the islands, it at once found itself engaged in bitter controversy. Gibbon Wakefield did not like the Colonial Office; he said it was 'like a tree without roots', bent first in one direction then in another by the breezes of popular feeling. Finally, since the Association found it could not work with the Colonial Office, it determined to act without it. The Government was informed that the Association was sending out a body of emigrants to colonize; this forced the Government in 1839 to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor, Captain Hobson, who was to make arrangements with the natives for the recognition of the Queen's authority over some parts of the islands. Captain Hobson accordingly signed with

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the Maori chiefs the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. By this the chiefs recognized British sovereignty and their people were given all the rights and privileges of British subjects ; the Maori tribes were confirmed in the possession of the lands. If they wished to sell any of them, the first offer must be made to the British Crown.

Trouble followed almost at once. According to Maori custom the land did not belong to individuals, or to the chief, but to the whole tribe. No individual therefore had any right to sell. This same custom is found elsewhere in the Pacific, in Fiji for instance ; it had existed in early days in Ireland, where many of the troubles arose because the English Government did not recognize it. Captain Hobson had seen the importance of this, and the treaty of Waitangi had been definitely meant to prevent these unauthorized sales. But colonists and missionaries at once came forward who claimed that they had already ' purchased ' nearly half the land in the island. For this, Gibbon Wakefield was hardly to blame ; he had meant, if the Colonial Office had let him have his way, to lay down regulations by which land could only be purchased by an official responsible to the New Zealand Association. Really, this unfortunate confusion was due to the fact that sufficient care had not been taken to reconcile the two different points of view, the preservation of the Maoris' rights and the needs of the colonists ; ¹ and it is largely due to the Wakefield School that New Zealand is to-day a member of the British Commonwealth.

In 1837 a young lieutenant in His Majesty's 83rd Regiment of Foot had been sent out in Darwin's old ship, the *Beagle*, as leader of an expedition to explore North-West Australia. George Grey came of a family that not once nor twice had spent itself in the service of the Empire ; his father had

¹ ' The Church Missionary Society at home was against British annexation. . . . (Lord Glenelg stated) " we had colonies enough " . . . In 1839 there were negotiations between the French Government and a French Company to make settlements in New Zealand, a fourth part of which they would subsequently hand over to the State.'—See Egerton, *British Colonial Policy*, pp. 292-4.

fallen as a young Colonel, at the storming of Badajos. His dreams of the building of a true Empire had been quickened by his service as a subaltern in Ireland, where the miseries of that responsive people had appealed to his sympathetic nature. Surely in these new lands of the South there would be possibilities for them of happiness and prosperity. At

the age of twenty-nine he was appointed Governor of South Australia, then in great financial difficulties. There he succeeded even beyond the sanguine expectations of Lord John Russell, who had appointed him. When therefore trouble broke out in New Zealand with the Maoris over the land question, he was sent over from South Australia in 1845 to be the new Governor. Though a certain amount of fighting had to be done, he realized that the most impor-



A MAORI CHIEF
showing tattooing

tant thing was to win the trust of the Maoris, and that a sense of humour was often more effective, as well as cheaper, than a military expedition. One old chief was sulking in his fastness and stubbornly refused to allow any roadmaking to be done in or near his territory. For roads, he said (and the Duke of Wellington had said the same thing in England), would lead to the conquest of the island. So Sir George Grey sent him a smart pony and trap. The chief was very pleased with the gift, but found he could not use it, unless he had a road to drive along; he quickly became one of the most zealous roadmakers in the island. Peace and authority were thus restored by a mixture of firmness and sympathy, and in 1854 Sir George Grey's first governorship came to a successful close with the claim for Responsible Government, made at the instance of Gibbon Wakefield (who had himself settled in New Zealand). To this

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request the British Government returned the answer that they had 'no objection'. Some years before, in 1846, a scheme of government for New Zealand had been drawn up and passed by Parliament in England. Grey, however, on his own authority, declined to put it into force, because, among other things, it did not safeguard the rights of the Maoris. The Government had sent him out 'with full confidence'; they were as good as their word. On his advice they withdrew their own constitution, and gave him practically authority to draw up another himself. With a few Maori servants he went up to a lonely camp in the bush and there, in the quietness of the hills, he drew up that constitution,¹ under which New Zealand in 1854 started on her career as a self-governing Dominion. There was to be a Central Parliament with two chambers, and also in each of the six Provinces—Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago—a Council. The Council was presided over by a superintendent, aided by a small body of executive officers chosen from the Council. These acted as a miniature Cabinet.

But all trouble with the Maoris was not yet over: they could not reconcile themselves to the loss of their possession of the islands—and the settlers were anxious to buy land faster than the Maoris wished to sell. Their weakness had been their division into tribes, each one independent of the others. To overcome this there was started the 'King' movement, to unite all the Maoris in North Island under a single ruler, and one section of the movement wanted to drive the English into the sea. Another dispute about the sale of land at Waitara supplied the spark that set this combustible material on fire, and in 1860 the second Maori War broke out.

From South Africa, where he had been Governor during an important crisis of the Cape's history, Sir George Grey was hastily summoned to New Zealand in the well-founded belief that his great influence with the Maoris would enable him to restore peace and goodwill. But the war left unfortunate

¹ The Home Government made one alteration. Grey's Second Chamber was to have been elective: they made it a nominated one.

consequences behind ; it brought up two questions—the future of the Maoris' lands, and the employment of Imperial troops in a self-governing colony—both of which gave rise to bitter controversy. Indeed, on the latter point there was a very serious difference of opinion with England ; the Colonial Secretary, Lord Granville, was entirely out of sympathy with the Colonial point of view, and it has been said that ' the relations between England and her colonies were never more strained than during the years 1869-70 '.¹ Fortunately his period of office was brief, and New Zealand made it clear that, if she did leave the British Empire, it would be at England's request and not by her own desire. But the incident cast a shadow over the close of the official² career of Sir George Grey, one of the greatest of England's Empire-builders. Strong in will, patient of understanding, never afraid of responsibility, he possessed to a high degree the qualities of leadership. For the Maoris he had a real love, and they repaid it with a boundless confidence. He was not without his defects. An autocrat by nature, he found it difficult to work with others and was over-ready to assume that those who differed from him were wrong. But few have rendered such great services to the Empire in so many different fields. The Federation of all the Dominions into one great Commonwealth was his ideal ; and to that Commonwealth he trusted that one day the United States would be linked by close ties of mutual understanding. Trust and Freedom were to be the corner-stones of this great edifice ; and to-day as his ideal is being in a measure realized, though perhaps by means somewhat different from those which he had planned, we appreciate the foresight and the wisdom of his conception.

One of the most important questions for New Zealand statesmen has been the control and disposal of the unoccupied lands. Gold was discovered at Otago in 1861, and subsequently near Hokitika in the South Island and in the neighbourhood

¹ Egerton, *British Colonial Policy*, p. 393.

² He subsequently settled in New Zealand and took an active part in political life as leader of the Liberal Party.



NEW ZEALAND. A bush clearing with settler's house; Mount Ruapehu in the background

of Auckland in the North Island. The yearly output is about £1,000,000. There is also a reasonable amount of coal. But the basis of New Zealand's prosperity is agriculture. Up to 1852 settlers wishing to purchase or lease land had, except in Auckland, to deal with the New Zealand Company; in that year the Company was wound up. Under the Wakefield system land was sold at a fairly high price—£2 an acre; money was thus provided for development, and close settlement was encouraged. But Grey believed in a 'cheap land' policy; by the Land Regulations of 1853, the price was reduced to 10s. an acre with no limitation on the amount which could be purchased by any one individual. The result was the formation of many large estates, populated only by a few shepherds. The control of the public lands was in the hands of the Provincial Councils. In 1870 the Central Government proposed to raise a loan for an extensive scheme of public works—railways, land settlement, immigration, &c. This produced friction with the Provinces who desired to retain their control, especially over the land. But the election of 1875 resulted in a victory for the 'Centralists', supported by the new settlers to whom the Provincial Councils seemed petty and unnecessary. The Central Government then had to attempt to introduce some system into the tangle of land laws. Close settlement is now encouraged by a limitation of the amount of land any individual may take up and by allowing the purchase money to be paid by instalments.¹ In some cases large estates have been purchased and then opened for close settlement. New Zealand has also to her credit some interesting experiments in social legislation on lines parallel to those carried out in Australia. In each case there is the similar conception, that it is the duty of the state to be the

¹ ' You may get a thousand acres and you haven't got to pay
Ought but just a small deposit in a friendly sort of way.
But you mustn't own a freehold and you mustn't have a "run",
And you mustn't be the kinsman of a squatter owning one.
But must build a habitation and contentedly reside,
And must satisfy the Land Board that you pass the night inside.'
(Quoted by Pember Reeves, *Long White Cloud*, p. 356)

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guardian of the individual as well as of the community. There is universal adult suffrage ; factory acts provide for a minute regulation of the conditions of labour, and in disputes between Trade Unions and employers there is a Board of Conciliation in each district from which appeal lies to the Central Court of Arbitration, whose decision is binding in law.



POST OFFICE, AUCKLAND, 1864. Arrival of the 'Home' mails

But the main activities of New Zealand are connected with the land, and the state takes a lively interest in developing productivity. The Advances Department makes loans on easy terms to settlers, farmers, and fruit-growers to enable them to build homesteads, stock their land, and erect packing-houses, &c. The Department of Agriculture with its experimental farms provides centres of instruction in such matters as dairying, stock-raising, fruit-growing, and bee-keeping. Farmers on their side have developed co-operation to a high degree. Practically all the dairy produce is marketed by co-operative companies, and the principle is rapidly extending among stock-raisers and fruit-growers. The grading of pro-

duce by the Government has done much to maintain public confidence in the quality of New Zealand exports.

New Zealand has not only fostered the material well-being of her inhabitants ; she has been convinced from early times of the importance of education. Children who hold a certificate of proficiency in the work of the Primary School are entitled to free tuition in a secondary school whence scholarships are provided to the University.



AUCKLAND to-day

When the question arose of the Federation of the Australian States, New Zealand was asked to join ; but she found a sufficient reason for declining to do so in the 1,000 miles of sea that separate the two lands. That, however, does not mean that her policy is one of selfishness and exclusion ; and a problem has recently arisen which demands the joint action of both countries. The Pacific question may be said to have commenced when the principal chief of Fiji in 1859 asked for annexation to the British Empire. This was due to a fear of the United States, who were strongly supporting the claim of their consul in the matter of a debt. But the request after consideration was refused, though the British Admiralty would have liked Fiji as a naval base, and Manchester cotton-

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merchants supported the proposed annexation of the island on the ground that it would help to replace the American supply which would be cut off in the event of civil war in the United States. When that broke out in 1861 cotton plantations were started in Fiji and Queensland; the need for labour led to the 'recruiting' of Kanakas in the South Sea Islands ('Blackbirding' was its local and more expressive name). In the absence of any effective form of government, this system led to abuses of all kinds and the methods of traders in those lonely and unsophisticated islands were often far from creditable to European standards of morality. It became obvious to those on the spot that conditions were too bad to be left as they were; and as the result of a report forwarded by Sir H. Robinson, Fiji was, to the great relief of every one concerned, taken over in 1874.

The annexation of part of New Guinea by Queensland in 1883 was brought about by the activities of Germany in the eastern portion of that island. Germany also annexed the Bismarck Archipelago, and had considerable interests in Samoa. On that occasion, at a conference of all the Australian premiers, a resolution was passed that 'the acquisition of dominion by any foreign power in any of the islands of the Western Pacific would be highly detrimental to the future safety and well-being of British possessions in Australasia'. It was not a question of 'grabbing' territory; it was a question of safety. To have a possibly hostile power firmly entrenched in those islands would, in the event of war, have threatened the whole of our communications in the South Seas; the events of the late war proved the wisdom of this contention. In addition, the question of the supply of raw materials for manufacture is yearly becoming a more pressing and important one. In these Pacific islands nature is bountiful, and yields a liberal harvest to man's labour. Till recent years, the Pacific has been shut off, as it were, from Europe's view by the great mass of America. But with the opening of the Panama Canal it now takes its place as one of the great highways of the world. The United States holds Hawaii,

part of Samoa, Guam, and the Philippines, and is becoming increasingly interested in the future development of the Pacific. In the East, Japan has suddenly arisen as a world power, eagerly pushing her trade, since it is only by becoming a manufacturing and exporting country that she can support her rapidly growing population. Geographically her position is extremely strong ; her harbours are among the finest in the world, and she holds a central position between Canada, Australia, and Asia. As a result of the war she has extended



A Maori War Canoe

her influence southwards, and now holds from the League of Nations the mandate for the Marshall, Caroline, and Ladrone Islands. The awakening of China is opening up her vast territories for commercial development. On every side the trader and the merchant are pushing new ventures, new enterprises in keen competition.

All this activity means a demand for labour : how is it to be satisfied ? The natives of the Pacific islands are not fond of working even for themselves ; that is hardly surprising, since they can live very comfortably without any serious effort. They have no desire to work for other people. The Germans in Samoa brought in Chinese to supply this labour shortage, and Fiji has been largely worked by coolies brought

from India under a contract for a period of years, at the end of which they have to be sent back. But this 'indenture' system has recently been stopped as open to too many abuses. The whole practice of imported labour clearly adds race and colour problems to difficulties already existing.¹ Plainly a common policy should be adopted for the whole Pacific, one that would aim at raising the natives by a development of their good qualities, not at degrading them by playing upon their weak side. Uniform regulations are required, to protect them against concession-hunters; and they need to be taught something of the duties as well as the rights of citizenship.

In 1883 Lord Rosebery, at a conference at Sydney, said that it would be the proud destiny of Australasia to be the Trustee of the Pacific. To this duty she has of late years been increasingly devoting her attention; as a result of the Peace of Versailles Australia has accepted the mandate for New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago, and New Zealand the mandate for that part of Samoa which does not belong to the United States.² But the problem is only in its opening phase. Whatever the solution may be, it is bound to affect very considerably Australasia's outlook on the world and test her capacity for constructive statesmanship. The period of the isolation of the Pacific has ended.

¹ It is a question whether Indian immigration might not be allowed in such tropical countries as Fiji, British Guiana, East Africa, &c., with the definite idea that these countries would become largely Indian. Thus an outlet could be provided for Indian emigration into countries whose climatic conditions make them more suitable for Indians than for white men.

² In this connexion it is interesting to remember Grey's idea of a Customs Union between New Zealand and several of the Pacific Islands. In the course of the debate on the Samoan Mandate in the New Zealand Parliament a Maori member said: 'I have read somewhere and have often been told that the characteristic of the Britisher is self-depreciation. To listen to the Hon. Member is to gather there is no more unfit man to run the business of an Empire than a Britisher. Our experience ought to make us extremely proud that this portion of the Polynesian race has been added to their brothers and cousins here in New Zealand.' (Quoted in Egerton, *Colonial Policy in the Twentieth Century*, p. 71.)



XIII

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

IN the history of all nations there are certain events which stand out as landmarks, and show the beginning of a new policy or the consciousness of a new ideal. Such a landmark was the Treaty of Ghent between the United States and England in 1814. War had been declared in 1812 because the British system of blockade against Napoleon had pressed very hardly on the United States, and the British enforced high-handedly their claim to impress men of British nationality found on board American vessels. But it was a war that ought never to have been fought, and probably might never have been fought if there had been more rapid communication between the two countries. For at the very moment when the United States declared war Great Britain was on the point of making concessions in regard to her Rights of Neutrality, a step which had been delayed by the assassination of her Prime Minister. Western Americans in particular, believing that their troubles with the Indians were largely due to Canadian support, boasted that their militia would soon overrun Canada, and dictate peace from the citadel of Quebec. To them, at any rate, the conquest of Canada was the real object of the war.

From this point of view the war was a complete failure : American troops invaded Canada, but without success, and a British expedition marched on Washington and burnt the Capitol. But nothing of any real importance was achieved, partly because there was in New England a strong section who opposed the war on the grounds that it was unjustifiable

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and would ruin America's trade. With the defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig in 1813, the need for the continuance of the Orders in Council ceased ; as soon as peace commissioners could get together the American war also ceased, since there was no reason why it should continue. Arising out of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 came the agreement that the boundary between Canada and the United States should never be fortified, and in 1817 it was stipulated that no ships of war should be maintained on the Great Lakes. Thus a lead was given to the rest of the world in the policy of settling future disputes by diplomacy and not by war.

After this temporary fit of imperialism America devoted herself to the more solid task of self-development. In Europe, the Tsar's idea that the monarchs should govern 'in concordance with Christian principles' led, under the subtle influence of the Austrian minister Metternich, to an outburst of absolutism and reaction. All liberal movements were treated as revolutionary and suppressed by force of arms. England alone held aloof ; she would not have 'Cossacks encamped in Hyde Park to overawe the Commons'. When France proposed to support Spain in her attempt to reconquer the Colonies in South America, which had revolted under Bolívar and set up themselves as Republics, and Russia showed signs of aggressiveness on the western coast of North America in an attempt to set up a Protectorate on the Pacific,¹ President Monroe declared in 1823 that the American Continents 'are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers'.

The Monroe Doctrine set the seal on the policy which had been commenced at the Declaration of Independence. From one point of view it was a determination to keep the New World free from the militarism and reaction of the Old. From another, it was an assertion of her national spirit ; she felt herself one among the nations of the world, entitled to

¹ 'In 1821 Russia had claimed the Pacific coast of North America almost down to Vancouver and exclusive rights of trading along it.'—Prof. A. F. Pollard in *History*, April 1919.

her own independence and their respect. The Monroe Doctrine became a leading feature in her political Bible ; America was to be for the Americans, and the development of her heritage the main object of her policy.

The period from 1814 to 1898, from the Treaty of Ghent to the Spanish-American War, may be called the middle period of American history. It is marked by the colonization of the Mississippi Basin and by the extension of the territories of the United States to the shores of the Pacific. By 1860 the population of this region exceeded that of the older settlements on the east, and had become the dominant factor in politics. This increase in her population and extension of her territories and responsibilities led to a clash of interests between the central authority and the several States, between the upholders and the opponents of the slave system.

The first movement was towards the lands of the Mississippi. One of the immediate results of the War of Independence had been a decline in trade, and this had been intensified by the war in 1812 with England when, in spite of many brilliant engagements, by the close of the war American commerce had been very seriously curtailed. Attempts had been made to encourage manufactures, and tariffs were set up in an attempt to protect American industries from European competition. But the building up of industry on the east could only be a slow process, and meantime the call of the new lands in the west was strong. The movement, started before 1812, became, after 1815, a rush. In wagons, on horseback, and on foot, men streamed westward to the land of promise, some from love of adventure, some from discontent with their prospects in the east. Nor were they only Americans. Many from Europe, and from Germany in particular, despairing of their own country after the failure of the movement of 1848 in favour of a liberal form of Government, crossed the Atlantic to the ' Land of Liberty ' and swelled the exodus to the west. These lands of the Middle West became settled with men in whom love of liberty was strong and who were impatient of the restraints of a strong central government.

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Men of action, self-confident, adventurous, they presented a difficult problem for any statesman. Some brought with them from their original homes one ominous source of future trouble. Those who had come from the non-slave States north of the Ohio were strong against slavery, while those who came from the south reckoned that their land would be valueless to them unless it could be developed by slave labour. The invention in 1793 of the cotton gin made it



Cotton-growing in the Mississippi Valley. A woodcut from the *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 1881

possible for manufacturers to use shorter-stapled cotton. This meant that cotton-growing would be profitable on lands that had not before been considered suitable for it ; and by 1816 the value of the cotton crop had become twice that of the tobacco, which in the eighteenth century was the most important product of the south. It was for cotton-growing that the southern lands of the Mississippi were wanted ; and the accepted method of cotton cultivation was one of large plantations worked by gangs of slaves.

There was, however, in the south another influence at work, besides the desire for cotton-growing lands. Spain, from her possessions in South America and in Mexico, had spread right round the Gulf and was in occupation of Florida, while France held Louisiana and so could close the mouth of America's

great inland waterway. This was felt by America to be an impossible situation. It was, in the party cry of the day, 'manifest destiny' that she should control all the American lands herself. The first step towards this was the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803; the second, the acquisition of Florida. Certain disputable rights over the country were revived and in 1813 part of it was occupied, in spite of Spain's protests. But finally Spain, by the Florida Treaty of 1819, gave up all her claims to Florida on condition that America gave up any claims she might have to Texas.

This, however, was the time when Spain's colonies were breaking away from her. Almost immediately after the Florida Treaty Mexico revolted, and joined with Texas in an independent federal state. There were only 3,000 white persons in Texas. It was more accessible to the American frontiersmen than to the Mexicans, from whom it was divided by the Rio Grande. Mexico, anxious for America's friendship in her newly won independence, was glad to open the country to her. The Americans were not slow to take advantage of the invitation, and by 1830 Texas had a white population of over 40,000, almost all Americans. The result was obvious. They declared Texas independent of Mexico; the Mexican army was defeated at San Jacinto in 1836, and in 1845 Texas and Florida were admitted as new States into the Union. This was considered by Mexico an unfriendly act, and war resulted in which Mexico was defeated and, by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, she not only abandoned her claims to Texas, but sold to the United States New Mexico and Upper California. But the relations between Mexico and the United States have not yet been finally settled, and there are persons in the United States who would like to see Mexico herself in America's possession.

The admission of these new States with all their problems unsolved was providing for the United States a rich crop of constitutional questions which now became ripe for settlement. America was making a great constitutional experiment; she had set up a new form of Government—Federal

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Republicanism, which was an attempt to combine the stability of a large State with the intense local self-government of a small one. In this type of Government the difficulty lies in the relations of the various States to the Central Government,

P L A N T A T I O N - N E W S.

*The Remainder of the Extracts from our Correspondent in
JAMAICA*

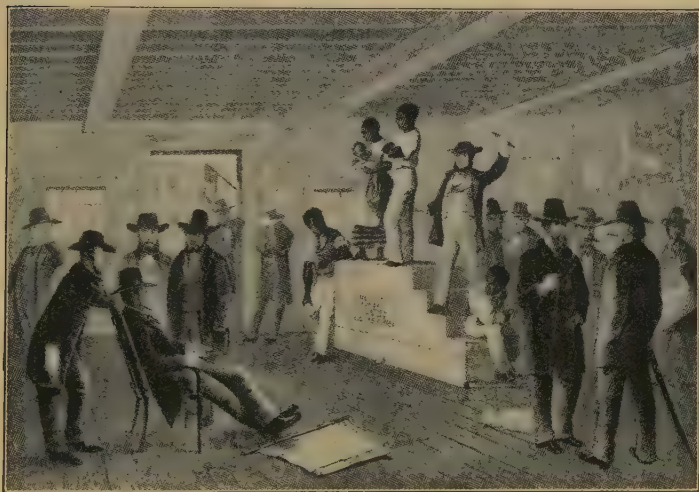
‘ Conversation here has lately run very much upon a
‘ strange Affair: A Sailor about two Months ago enter’d
‘ himself on board the Falmouth, who was soon challeng’d
‘ by one of his Mates, for the only Son of the late Lord
‘ ———, who was Heir to the Title and Estate of the Earl of
‘ ——— Upon this he made a Discovery of himself, declaring
‘ how he was sent into Ireland by a certain Nobleman, un-
‘ der whose Care he was entrusted, and at eight Years old
‘ (just upon the Death of his Father) sold as a Slave into Pen-
‘ sylvania for seven Years, before the Expiration whereof he
‘ attempted to make his Escape, but was retaken, and, by a
‘ Law of the Country, oblig’d, for his Elopement, to serve
‘ seven Years more; and that a little before the End of his
‘ second Slavery, he again ran away, and got down to the
‘ next Sea-Port, where he enter’d himself with the Master
‘ of a Merchant Ship coming to this Island. A Gentleman
‘ on board the Eleanor has made an Affidavit, that he knows
‘ him to be related to the Family, and that he remembers
‘ that Advertisements were publish’d when the Boy was mis-
‘ sing, and believes this to be him. Another, who was his
‘ School-Fellow, and at whose Father’s House he lodg’d,
‘ makes Affidavit to the same Purpose. The Admiral has
‘ order’d he should walk the Quarter-Deck, as a Midship-
‘ man, till the Truth can be manifested.

The tradition of plantation slavery. Extract from *The
Gloucester Journal*, 17 February 1740/1. Most of
the slaves were negroes imported from Guinea

and to each other. If strong differences of opinion arise, is the local State or the Central Government to have its way? Is the local State (which has voluntarily joined the Union) to be allowed to leave it, or is the Central Government to enforce obedience, if need be by arms?

It was slavery that provided for America the test question, whether she was to be one nation strong through union, or a

loose collection of semi-independent States. At any time of political crisis, people are apt to bring to the front some concrete issue through which human emotion lends warmth and feeling to the controversy, in preference to what seems an intellectual abstraction. But the fact that the question of slavery played such a prominent part in the coming struggle should not make us forget that it was not the real question at



Slave Auctions in Richmond, Virginia, 1861

stake. Many a northern soldier held as strong and contemptuous an opinion on 'the niggers' as any southerner could have wished—and yet he fought with the enthusiasm of a crusader. And what he fought for was the claim that the *United States* should not be broken up by the withdrawal of any of the members. The division of the country on the question was based on the traditions and pursuits of its different regions. In the north, where the Puritan stock was strong, and where the country lent itself to manufacture, idealism declared against slavery, and industry did not require it. In the hot climate of the south men thought it

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would be impossible to grow cotton without slaves. Much depended on whether slavery should be allowed in the new States of the west. Thus a 'solid South' arrayed itself against a North which was strongly determined never in the future to let the slave-holders get control of the Government.

This, in the past, they largely had done. The slave-system had made possible the leisure which allows men to devote themselves to politics. Southern statesmen had played an important part in the Union. Madison had planned it, Washington had fought for it, Jefferson made it democratic in practice as well as in theory. For thirty-two years, out of the first forty of the existence of the United States, Virginian statesmen had occupied the presidential chair, and had guided as well as presided over the country's affairs. But the election in 1829 of President Jackson, the 'people's president' from the west, marked a crisis. The South awoke to the fact that the country was slipping from her control, and she determined to make a stand while she had the power.

The first act in the tragedy had been played in 1820 when Missouri, a State that had been formed by the emigrants into the new land, applied for admission into the Union as a 'slave state'. It lay on the border line between the slave and the non-slave States, and so it was a test case. For the moment the question was settled by a compromise; Missouri was admitted into the Union as a slave state, but it was laid down that, for the future, slavery was not to be allowed north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$, which was the southern border of Missouri. The second act came in 1833, when South Carolina passed the Ordinance of Nullification, which asserted that the tariffs created for the protection of the manufacturing interests of the North should not be enforced on her States. South Carolina had no manufactures to protect and wanted to be able to import goods as cheaply as possible. She was unwilling to sacrifice herself for what the Central Government considered to be the interests of America as a whole. It was a clear challenge to the supremacy of the Central Government; but the other southern States were not prepared to go

to the same extreme as South Carolina, and another compromise was arranged whereby the tariffs were lowered and the Nullification Ordinance repealed.

The third act, the Kansas Nebraska Bill of 1854, was the work of Stephen Douglas, senator from Illinois. Coarse-fibred, aggressive, eloquent, he seemed the very expression of the energy and daring of the pioneer West. His ambition was to press forward railways westward to the Pacific. This would involve the opening up of the land north-west of Missouri which was to be organized as the Kansas and Nebraska territories. Were these to be slave States or not? Douglas proposed that those who settled in the new territories should decide for themselves whether they wanted slavery or no—the doctrine of ‘Squatter Sovereignty’. This was the rough and ready agreement that had been come to in 1850 in the case of California, where the discovery of gold had led to a sudden inrush of settlers. But the South wanted more. To gain their support Douglas made the fatal mistake of promising to try for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. At this moment, when feeling was running high, two events happened which cut the issue clear. The Supreme Court gave a decision that Congress had no constitutional power to prohibit slavery. In consequence, John Brown, a fanatical ‘abolitionist’,¹ declared that the slaves must be freed by force. He made a mad raid, in the course of which some lives were lost: he was tried and executed for treason. But his attempt had been enough to arouse the southern States and they determined, if they remained within the Union, that they would only be governed by southern men.

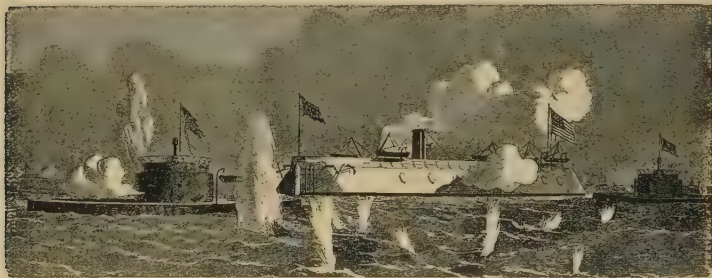
In 1858 there came to the warring politicians at Washington tidings of a new force with which they had not reckoned. Douglas, touring Illinois to convert it to ‘squatter sovereignty’, had been confronted by a local politician ungainly of figure

¹ The hero of the song which the Northern armies (and others of our own day) sang as they marched:

John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on.

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but homely of phrase, who could argue coatless all night with hard-headed westerners in the mixed atmosphere of a bar-parlour, and in the morning tear to shreds the polished parliamentary arguments of his opponent in a stand-up debate before the assembled countryside. Abraham Lincoln, with his strange mixture of racy wit and moving earnestness, won his way straight to the hearts of men. To meet him was to fall under his spell, and the new Republican Party, pledged to resist the extension of slavery, in 1860 nominated him for the Presidency. Even then, no one among the Republicans had



Monitors and Ironclads in action, Charleston, 1863

any idea of attempting to abolish slavery where it already existed. But the South saw the issue more clearly: they gave warning that a 'Black Republican victory' would mean the dissolution of the Union.

Lincoln was elected. At once South Carolina adopted 'An ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and the other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America".' Six other southern States followed suit and the 'Confederate States' were formed under the presidency of Jefferson Davis. On April 12 came the news that the Confederates under General Beauregard had opened fire against Fort Sumter at Charleston, and that the fort had been captured. The stage was set for the final act of the

tragedy of civil war. 'For the whole country it was to be the bitterest of all ordeals, a decision by blood; but for one party it was to be a war of hope. Should the South win she must also lose; must lose her place in the Union she had fostered, and in gaining independence must destroy a nation. Should the North win she would confirm a great hope, establish the Union, and free it from contradictions of life



Confederates sinking torpedoes by moonlight in the harbour channel, Charleston, 1863

and principle. The South fought for a principle, as the North did. It was this that was to give the war dignity and the tragedy a double motive. But the principle for which the South fought meant standstill; it was conservative, not creative. Overwhelming material superiority was with the North, but she had another and a greater advantage: she was to fight for the abiding peace, concord, and strength of a great nation.' ¹

In 1863 Gettysburg—the battle that preserved a nation—had been fought and won; the South struggled on, with magnifi-

¹ Woodrow Wilson in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. viii, p. 442.

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cent courage but with the bitterness of forlorn hope. Lincoln was re-elected in 1864. The speech that he made, the second Inaugural Address, is at once his policy and his epitaph. 'With malice towards none, with charity for all, let us strive on to finish the work we are in ; to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and for his orphan ; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace, among ourselves and with all nations.'

Six weeks later he was murdered. His firmness, his sympathy, his insight, would have made him an ideal President to reconcile the bitterness which the war had left and to unite all parties in the work of building up a noble nation. His loss to America and to the world was irreparable.

O Captain, my Captain, our fearful trip is done :
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought
is won ;
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and
daring ;
But, O heart, heart, heart !
O the bleeding drops of red !
Where on the deck my Captain lies,
Fallen, cold and dead.

The Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, was not equal to a peculiarly difficult situation. The period of 'Republican Reconstruction' from 1866 to 1877 was a nightmare for the South, and a revelation of how corrupt and inefficient government can be. The vote was given to the negro, not because he was fit for it, but on grounds of logical justice and as a move in the party game to ensure the subjection of the South. The real power was in the hands of the 'carpet-baggers' from the North backed by negro votes and federal troops ; national interests were subordinated to party ends. But this policy worked its own revenge ; it poisoned the whole question of the future treatment of the negro, and it produced a South solid against Republicanism.

When the immediate problem of the Civil War was ended, another matter demanded the attention of the United States. Napoleon III, seeking an Empire in the West, had set up Maximilian of Austria as Emperor of Mexico under French protection. America, acting upon the principle of the Monroe Doctrine, that no portion of the American continent was to be ground for colonization by a foreign power, sent a strong protest. Napoleon therefore in 1866 deserted his protégé and thus took another step on the road which was to lead to his downfall at Sedan. This was a defensive application of the Monroe doctrine. It was followed by a constructive one. Cuba, then a Spanish colony, was from 1868 to 1878 in a state of almost continual revolt, in the course of which many cruelties had taken place. In 1895 the revolt broke out again. America was becoming disgusted at the continuance of the plague-spot at her doors and made strong representations to Spain. While negotiations were going on, the United States battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana Harbour by an explosion, which was probably accidental. But at the time it was thought to have been caused by Spain. A wave of hysterical excitement swept America off her feet. She determined to intervene and war broke out in 1898. The fighting was unimportant, the consequences were not ; for as a result the United States acquired Porto Rico and the Philippines, as well as a kind of protectorate over Cuba. Thus she became a colonial power, in possession of lands outside America.

The real parting of the ways had taken place much earlier ; it might, perhaps, be dated from the regeneration of the American Navy about 1887. It was in the 'eighties that the problem of the Pacific began to come to the front, with the activities of Germany in Samoa and elsewhere, the beginnings of the westernization of Japan, and the opening up of China. It was the dawning of the new era of colonization, the struggle for new markets in Africa and in Asia. America had become a great industrial power ; her interests had become world-

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wide, and she could not stand aside from the new movement. 'We have no choice, we people of the United States, as to whether or not we shall play a great part in the world. That has been determined for us by fate, by the march of events. We have to play that part. All that we can decide is, whether we shall play it well or ill.' ¹

This policy has been continued. By the building of the Panama Canal, America has secured a highway to the Far East ; she has acquired sundry small islands in the Pacific, and in 1917 she purchased from Denmark her West Indian Islands. She acted as the mediator between Russia and Japan in 1905, and took part in the Algeciras Conference which met to settle the problem of Morocco. When the late war with Germany broke out she gradually realized that, in spite of her desire for peace, the ideals for which she stood demanded that she should support with her forces the allied cause. And though she has not become a party to the League of Nations, dreading the entanglements that might result, she has expressed, in the statement of the late President Harding, her readiness to co-operate in constructive measures which might help to the establishment of sane and orderly governments in Europe.²

During the same period she has had to face problems of internal reorganization, industrial and political. It was the war with England in 1812-14 which, by forcing her to supply her own needs, led to the change from the Domestic to the Factory system. But for some time America remained divided into three distinct sections, the Middle, Eastern, and the North-eastern states, which were industrial ; the Southern states, which grew cotton ; and the new Western territories which were agricultural. Between these three, exchange of goods was difficult. The Appalachians divided the East from the West, and the South, though it provided a market for Western produce brought down the Mississippi, could not

¹ President Roosevelt, quoted in Farrand, *The Development of the United States*.

² The outcome of this was the Washington Conference to deal with naval disarmament and the problem of the Pacific.

furnish suitable return cargoes. It was not till railways were built—the first was the Baltimore and Ohio railway in 1835—that economic unity became possible. But this was soon followed by the opening up of good markets for corn in Europe; England repealed her Corn Laws in 1846. This doubled the value of the western agricultural lands.¹ There was also a great demand for cotton after the Civil War. Thus the South and West had the money to buy the goods that the East was now able to send. The increase in immigration supplied the additional labour, and, as one result of the consequent industrial development, there came a more marked division between the wage-earning class and the employer.

This 'Industrial Revolution' played a great part in the evolution of the political parties. The Republicans originally started in the West as a 'People's party' in opposition to the vested interests of the East. But it soon adopted as its programme 'the American system', that is, an attempt to make the United States independent of the goods of other nations by developing her industries through protective tariffs. That was one reason why, on business grounds, it determined to maintain the Union. Therefore the tendency has been for the Republican Party to ally itself with the big business interests. The Democratic Party, before the Civil War, stood for the opposition to the attempt to exploit the United States in the interests of the East. But at the time of the Civil War it was branded with the sin of slavery, and so for the time being the victory of the North was the death-blow to the Democratic Party. But it soon rose again, advocating increased 'freedom of trade' (though not Free Trade) in opposition to the Protectionist Republicans. As the latter's

¹ The building of the Union Pacific and Northern Pacific Railways led to the extermination of the bison which had roamed the western plains; between 1872 and 1874 about 3,500,000 were killed. In consequence, the Indians, whose chief means of sustenance they had been, had to accept Government support and live in Reservations. The land was used for cattle-ranches. The invention of refrigerating machinery enabled American beef to be exported to all parts of the world.

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strength lay in the North and East, so the Democrats drew their support mainly from the South and West—the areas which produced raw materials. But under Roosevelt's presidency the Republicans took in hand great development schemes, such as the irrigation of desert lands. Thus the West was for the time contented ; but, owing to its mixed population and its ' advanced ' ideas, it is always an uncertain (but very important) factor in presidential elections.

The form and the methods of government in America explain why political organizations are so important. Each State provides for its own local government, by means of a Legislature of two Houses, a Governor, and executive officials. But these officials are appointed by the direct votes of the district which they serve, and they are, in law and in fact, the colleagues, not the subordinates of the Governor. In the Federal Government (that is, the central Government for all the States) the executive power is in the hands of the President, who personally appoints all the Federal officers who are responsible to him ; these are not allowed to sit in the Legislature. Executive and Legislature therefore work in almost watertight compartments, and it is quite possible for the two departments of Government to have differing views on policy. Further, the President directs foreign policy ; he is only required to give Congress ' information from time to time ', and to obtain a two-thirds majority in the Senate for any treaty he has negotiated. The victory, therefore, of a given party at a presidential election not only means that a member of the party will exercise this enormous control over American policy (a power far greater than that exercised by any king¹ at the present day) but also that throughout the country many officials will, if necessary, be changed for men of the right ' colour ' (for American parties have not yet entirely rid themselves of a belief in the principle of ' the spoils to the victor '). In England the civil service is a permanent body and carries on the routine business

¹ The functions of the American President may in general be compared with those of a king *plus* those of a premier.

of administration, to whatever political party the Prime Minister may belong. In America, on a change of the party in power many such officials would be replaced by others.¹

Apart from internal politics and foreign policy, America to-day has two great problems—the coloured races and the immigrant. The colour problem is a double one; there are Indians and Negroes. The Indian problem is comparatively simple. They are officially 'Wards of the Nation' and live in 'Reservations' set apart, with Agents appointed to look



Typical Red Indian heads

after them.² Some have shown a considerable capacity for assimilating Western civilization; these no longer live in their tribal state but mix with the ordinary population. And there is not the same social objection to them that there is to the negro. The latter, though legally a citizen, is socially an

¹ Cf. President Garfield in 1881: 'One-third of the working hours of Senators and Representatives is scarcely sufficient to meet the demands in reference to appointments to office. . . . With a judicious system of civil service the business of the Departments could be better done at half the cost.' A system of competitive examination for posts in the civil service has since been introduced, and in 1910 out of 367,794 employed by the State, 234,940 obtained their position by examination. But over 9,000 still owed their appointment to the President. (See Bryce, *American Commonwealth*, vol. ii, chap. lxxv.)

² The Dawes Act of 1887 permitted the break-up of Reservations, that each Indian might have his own land, and the remainder be left available for white men.

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outcast. But of recent years attempts have been made, with some success, to develop the negroes along the lines for which they are best fitted. Booker Washington, one of their prominent leaders, recognizing that intellectually they are not the equal of the white men, has attempted to train them in Negro Trade Schools and similar institutions, until such times as they may be fitted to take a place in the ordinary life of the state. This time is not yet; but the policy, though a slow one, is constructive and hopeful.

The problem of the immigrant is closely connected with the whole question of the position of labour. In America, Trade Unions are far less strongly organized and have far less political power than in England; and for this there are two reasons. The first is the immigrant. Since 1820 there have been thirty-two millions of these, many of them of a low level of culture. Poles, Russians, Slavs from the Balkans and the Baltic, form settlements of their own, retaining their own language and customs; Chicago, for instance, has a bigger Polish population than any city in Poland. Men such as these cannot join in unions with the highly-skilled Americans, who are politically very advanced. At present America is finding it very difficult to assimilate (or, as they phrase it, to 'Americanize') these peoples. The second reason is what may be called the 'pioneer attitude'. When a new country has to be opened up, the qualities which are rated most highly are energy, intelligence, self-reliance. These are the outstanding American characteristics; American society is the most individualistic in the world. To combine with his fellows, especially with those who are less resourceful than himself, would be to hamper the individual's own initiative. No one wishes to be a Socialist when all hope soon to be millionaires. But of late, opportunities for the rapid acquisition of wealth, though great, have been less than formerly, and the division of society into wage-earners and capitalists, which has for a long time prevailed in Europe, is becoming more general in America. Therefore working-class consciousness is beginning to emerge and Labour is beginning more actively to assert itself.



XIV. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE

ALTHOUGH in its dealings with the other nations of the world 'Great Britain' speaks with one voice, it must always be remembered that this name is only a convenient expression to include a great variety of peoples who are governed in very different ways. The main division is between those who govern themselves in their own assemblies and those who are governed directly by officials sent out from England. The former are the Dominions: the Dominion of Canada, Newfoundland, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa. These, though less in wealth, population, and power than the United Kingdom, rightly claim all the privileges and responsibilities of equal nationhood with her, and to them may be applied the term 'British Commonwealth'. The latter class consists of those peoples who are not yet in a position to govern themselves, such as the native races of East and West Africa; over these rule has to be exercised, and they may be called the 'British Empire'. Intermediate between the two are those peoples who from political inexperience or smallness of numbers, are at present unable to manage unaided their own affairs. India is an example of the first case, the West Indian islands of the second. As regards these the aim is, as far as circumstances permit, to give them as much self-government

as possible, and gradually to transfer peoples from the ' Empire ' to the ' Commonwealth '.¹

The original type of administration was what is known to-day as ' Crown Colony Government ' ; this was the system set up in the American Colonies. A Governor was sent out from England, and he was assisted by a Council whom the Crown appointed on the Governor's advice. There was also a Legislative Assembly, elected by the people, which voted money and discussed measures. It was taken for granted that some form of elected Assembly was a necessary part of any government ; and the Assembly really was representative of the people to an extent which it certainly was not in England till the nineteenth century, since practically every settler had a vote as a matter of course. But the executive power was in the hands of the Governor appointed by and responsible to the Government in London ; he summoned and dismissed the Assembly, and could veto any measure they suggested ; it was on his recommendation that the Council and the Judges were appointed : control was exercised by the Assembly through their right of appointing certain officials, and through their power of granting or withholding supplies, including the Governor's salary. But this control was limited by the fact that the Customs were not under the Assembly's authority, but were determined by the Home Government. Therefore, as the Colony developed, the taxpayer found that the Assembly he had elected could do little more than discuss and dispute. Constant friction was the result : ' A legislature elected by the people, coupled with a government appointed by a distant power, is a contrivance for promoting dissensions. ' ² Charles Buller, the secretary to the Durham Mission to Canada, well summed up the evil of this type of government when he wrote : ' Many governments have worked tolerably well without representation, and many institutions have worked tolerably

¹ Malta is an interesting instance of a Crown Colony that was granted responsible self-government in May 1921 and therefore takes her place in the ' Commonwealth '.

² Lowell, *Government of England*.

well without shareholders or voters. For power without representation is not so great an evil as representation without executive responsibility. It is better to be without a fire than have a fire without a chimney.'

From this early type there has been a development in two directions. Where the majority (or the more important part) of the population consists of white people, the power of the elected Assembly has been developed so that it does, in fact, control entirely the government of the country. This is the case with the self-governing Dominions. In the other case, where the majority consists of natives, there is not self-government, but there is some form of consultative legislature, the powers of which are proportionate to the political development of the Colony. In Jamaica, the Leeward Isles, British Guiana, Mauritius, Fiji, part of the legislative body is elected, part is appointed by the Governor. In certain British possessions in the West Indies and Central America, in Ceylon, and in most of the tropical African possessions, the legislative body is wholly appointed. In those parts of Africa, for instance, which are only half-explored, or in purely military stations such as Gibraltar, there is no legislative council at all. Only in three cases, the Bahamas, Barbados, and Bermuda—all small islands—does the original Crown Colony system prevail; indeed the two latter can claim the oldest representative bodies in the Empire, with the exception of the House of Commons. The characteristic feature of this Crown Colony type of Government is that the ultimate power is the Crown, advised by the Colonial Secretary and represented on the spot by the Governor, who is appointed by the Colonial Office.

In dealing with primitive native races, the Government has a twofold duty to perform. It is bound to protect them from exploitation (for we cannot allow it to be said that

This is the white man's burden,
To make the black man work;
To set the nigger, at a very low figure,
To the job that the white men shirk),

but at the same time it must develop a feeling of self-respect and responsibility. The old pursuits of hunting and warfare must be replaced by useful and productive labour, and the individual native must be trained to some sense of 'citizenship', that is, he must be brought to feel he has some stake in the country, and some connexion with the government of it. The method adopted



The savage in the bush on the
Gold Coast

in many cases is to govern through the native chiefs and tribal organization, under the supervision of a British official. In the northern part of Nigeria, for instance, the Emirs continue to govern their people by native Muhammadan law, with the advice of the district commissioner. Again, in each state of the Malay Confederacy there is a Council of the principal chiefs (in which the

British resident has a seat) to assist the Sultan ; periodically there is a Durbar of all the councils, under the presidency of the Resident-General. The same policy is pursued in Rhodesia, where the government is conducted as far as possible through the tribal chiefs. In this way the native gets the kind of government he can understand—our kind of government may be best for us, but it is not necessarily the best for him—and he is put on his mettle to do the best he can with himself.¹

This method of governing through native institutions gives to primitive peoples the best opportunity for the development of their political and social capacity. In Africa at the present time Muhammadanism is spreading steadily southwards among the natives—and Muhammadanism is not only a religion but

¹ For instance, in Fiji the policy is that the Department that deals with Native Affairs shall be staffed as far as possible with Fijians.

a social system with its own law, moral code, and institutions which differ essentially from those of Europe.¹ The natives are therefore coming under the influence of a form of civilization which more readily harmonizes with their own instincts, and supplies the unifying link of a common ideal. The effect that this movement will have upon the native outlook must therefore be taken into account. But the development of the natural resources of tropical countries is probably most effectively secured by the economic system of Western



Education at work. A Christmas service in Kenya Colony, 1922

Europe. A question for the future will be whether the economic demands of Europe are to be allowed to overthrow these communal institutions.

India provides perhaps the best example of the training of peoples in self-government, because there the experiment has just been made of handing over to the Indians a considerable amount of responsible self-government, with the promise that this shall be increased as circumstances warrant it. It is an experiment that is quite unique, and it forms a pledge, as it were, for all coloured races within the British Empire that responsible self-government is the goal proposed for them, if and when they show themselves fitted for it. By the present system of administration resulting from the Montagu-Chelmsford report (see p. 251) the British Parliament has still the final responsibility for the government of India.

¹ See p. 174.

It exercises this power through the Secretary of State for India and his Council in England, and through the Viceroy in India. But this control by Parliament will, it is suggested, in the future be increasingly confined to large issues of policy, just as in India the task of the Central Government will be very largely to co-ordinate the work of the Provincial Governments whose sphere of authority will tend to widen.

The problem of a satisfactory form of self-government for the great Dominions arose first in Canada and was due mainly to the settlement there of the United Empire Loyalists. The British Government found by experience that the same problems were arising in Canada, 1791-1837, as had previously existed in the old American Colonies. This was natural, as the form of government introduced by the Constitutional Act was in essentials the same as that which had prevailed in the American Colonies, except that the Colonial Office exercised a greater control over the domestic affairs of the Colony, and differences between Executive and Legislature were accentuated by racial bitterness. The principle of responsible government recognized in 1842 as a result of Lord Durham's Report was quickly extended to the other great Colonies—Australia 1850-60, New Zealand 1854, Cape Colony 1872. At first it was considered by many, though not by Lord Durham, that this might lead to separation. The example of the United States seemed to confirm the idea that colonies when they grew up would drop away from the mother country 'like ripe fruit from a parent stem'. The grant of self-government would make this dropping away more dignified and graceful, since it would avoid unseemly squabbles.¹

¹ Disraeli protested against this view in his speech at the Crystal Palace in 1872: 'How often has it been suggested that we should at once emancipate ourselves from this incubus? (the Empire). When these subtle views were adopted by the country under the plausible plea of granting self-government to the colonies I confess that I myself thought the tie had been broken. Not that I, for one, object to self-government; I cannot conceive how our distant colonies can have their affairs administered except by self-government. But self-government,

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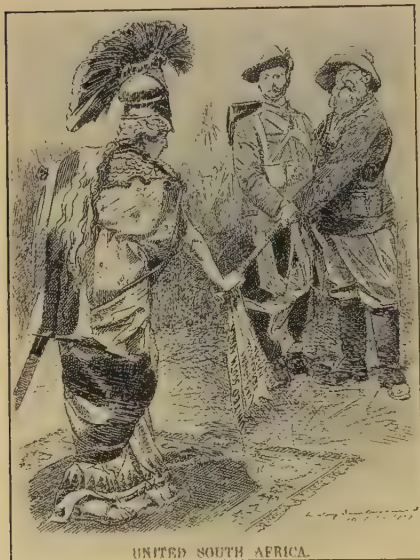
Contrary, however, to expectation, the Colonies did not take the opportunity to secede. Canada realized that separation would be but the prelude to annexation by the United States, and the discovery of gold-mines in Australia aroused popular interest and attracted thousands of settlers. By 1870 the idea of secession was dying out; the extension of the franchise in England, 1867-84, with the consequent growth of a more real democratic conception, and greater facilities for communication, have enabled people better to understand the nature of a free Empire—a Commonwealth: the granting of responsible government to such parts of the Empire as were fitted for it was accepted as a principle instead of being a mere matter of expediency.

The next step was a movement towards some kind of federation between the various provinces of each colony. Here again Canada led the way: she was the first to feel the need for it because of the 'pull' from the United States and the vast extent of her undeveloped lands. By the British North America Act of 1867 one Central Government was set up at Ottawa for all the 'Dominion', though at present Newfoundland prefers to remain outside. Australia came next; her union was largely brought about by the need of a uniform policy in dealing with the activities of Germany and

in my opinion, when it was conceived ought to have been conceived as part of a great policy of imperial consolidation. It ought, further, to have been accompanied by some representative council in the Metropolis which would have brought the colonies into constant and continuous relations with the home government. All this, however, was omitted because those who advised that policy looked upon the colonies of England, looked even upon our connexion with India, as a burden on this country, viewing everything in a financial aspect, and totally passing by those moral and political considerations which make nations great and by the influence of which alone men are distinguished from animals. . . .

¹ (This attempt) has entirely failed. But how has it failed? Through the sympathy of the colonies with the Mother Country. They have decided that the Empire shall not be destroyed.' But Disraeli's views on Imperial matters were not always consistent. (See p. 158, note.)

of Japan in the Pacific, and in 1900 she became a Commonwealth. New Zealand, which in 1852 had adopted a form of federal constitution, took the title of a Dominion in 1907. But perhaps the most striking expression of the principle of self-government is the Union of South Africa. The Cape had been



Linley Sambourne in *Punch*, July 1909¹

granted responsible government in 1872, and Natal in 1893. In 1906-7, only four years after they had been in arms against us, this was extended to the Transvaal and Orange River Colony by Campbell-Bannerman, and in 1909 the Union was proclaimed which includes all British South Africa except Rhodesia.

In each of the self-governing Dominions there is a Governor-General who is appointed by the Crown and has a twofold part to play. In the first place, he is the representative of the Crown, and has to maintain the interests of Great Britain. In all matters that affect other parts of the Empire, or foreign countries, he acts in accordance with the instructions of the Secretary of State in England. But he is also the chief magistrate of the particular Dominion; and in all questions of internal government he acts on the advice of his ministers. The tendency of late years has been for the Governor-General to have the same kind of influence as the king has in England;

¹ By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

by his position he is above party disputes and from his wide experience and obvious disinterestedness, he can often make suggestions or smooth away frictions. Thus his authority has become rather a moral than an executive one.

All the Dominions have a Parliament of two Houses, but there are interesting differences between their constitutions. In Canada each Province has its own Legislature, but this



Australian Federation: 'Advance, Australia!'

British Lion: 'Bravo, Boys! Swing together!'

John Tenniel in *Punch*, March 1891

can only deal with certain prescribed subjects; everything else is left to the Dominion Parliament at Ottawa. The aim in this case was to strengthen the Central Government, partly because, at the time when the Constitution was drawn up, there was a possibility of complications with the United States. In Australia, on the other hand, the local feeling in the various States was very strong, the danger to be feared

¹ By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

from outside was less felt, and therefore the local Legislatures retain all the powers except those that they have definitely handed over to the Commonwealth Parliament. The Governor of each Australian State is still appointed by the British Government; but those of the Canadian Provinces are appointed by the Governor-General. Thus in Australia the Central Government has been kept weak.¹ Africa is not a Federation at all, but a Union, and though the four Provinces have Provincial Councils which deal with certain matters such as elementary education, they are completely under the control of the Union Parliament. In this case there were special reasons which made it desirable that the union should be as complete as possible.

A Dominion Parliament has very wide powers. It is therefore simpler to explain what it *cannot* do. By 1914 its authority was limited in four directions. In the first place its legislation was limited to its own territory. In the second place it could not pass laws inconsistent with its position as a member of the British Commonwealth. It could not declare peace or war or pass an Act of Secession. In the third place the veto of the Governor-General and the Crown on all acts of legislation still remained, though it was rarely exercised, and the convention has grown up that the Home Government, irrespective of its own views, never interferes in the internal legislation of a Dominion. Therefore the Home Government has not vetoed the legislation passed by South Africa prohibiting the entrance of Indians into the country, nor that of Canada and Australia to exclude Asiatic immigrants. Finally, a Dominion Parliament had no separate status in international law and could not receive or accredit ambassadors.

The establishment of responsible government in the Dominions gave a great impetus to the development of colonial nationalism, since national institutions inevitably

¹ In practice the tendency is for the Central Government to increase in strength, partly in consequence of decisions given by the Federal High Court which develops the idea of a single central authority.

produced a national consciousness. Lord Durham at the time of his mission to Canada said, 'I was gratified by finding the leading minds of the various colonies strongly inclined to a scheme that would elevate their countries into something like a national existence.' Sir John Macdonald in 1865 echoed the same thought: 'I am proud to believe that our desire for a permanent alliance will be reciprocated in England. The Colonies are now in a transition stage; gradually a different Colonial system is being developed—and it will become year by year less a case of dependence and more and more a case of a healthy and cordial alliance. Instead of looking upon us as a mere dependent colony, England will have in us a friendly nation.'¹

From the first granting of responsible government it was agreed that the Dominions should be consulted on all treaties, commercial or otherwise, which affected them. Thus not only was Canada consulted with regard to the Treaty of Washington with the United States in 1871, but Sir John Macdonald was one of the British representatives in the negotiations. By 1880 it was agreed that no commercial treaty should be made binding on the Dominions without their consent. Great Britain further expressed her willingness to enter into negotiations with foreign powers to conclude separate commercial treaties between them and a Dominion. A Dominion minister is associated with the British Ambassador in the negotiations with the foreign power, and takes the leading part. The first separate commercial treaty was in 1893, in respect of French Canadian trade.

The revived interest in the Colonies after 1880, and the colonial and naval expansion of Germany brought increasingly to the front problems of imperial defence and foreign policy.

¹ Cf. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain at Glasgow, 1903: 'When I speak of *our* colonies it is an expression—they are not ours in a possessory sense. They are sister States, able to treat with us from an equal position, able to hold to us, willing to hold to us, but also able to break with us.'

To some statesmen the solution seemed to be an Imperial Federation. But difficulties of distance and the feeling in favour of complete autonomy among the Dominions stood in the way, and this solution found little support when tentatively suggested by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in 1902, or when formally proposed by Sir Joseph Ward on behalf of New Zealand in 1911. Some co-operation has been secured by means of conferences held periodically between statesmen of the Dominions and the United Kingdom. The first took place in 1887, when the opportunity was taken of the presence in London of Dominion representatives at Queen Victoria's Jubilee to discuss imperial problems. Similar conferences took place on the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee in 1897 and of the Coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. In 1907 the status of the conference was raised, and the chair was taken by the Prime Minister instead of by the Colonial Secretary.

At the special meeting which was held in 1909, at a time when there was a good deal of anxiety over our foreign relationships,¹ plans were discussed for the organization of the forces of the whole Commonwealth. The Dominions, with the exception of South Africa, had been responsible for their own internal military defence since 1870, and the small garrison left at Halifax had been withdrawn in 1899. But the entire burden of naval defence was still undertaken by the Home Government, with the exception of a contribution granted by Australia since 1887 towards the cost of the Australian Squadron. The outcome of this meeting was the creation of an Imperial General Staff which would work in co-operation with the General Staffs of the Dominions. It was agreed that the Dominions should take an increased share in naval defence. In accordance with the feelings in favour of national fleets, Australia and New Zealand preferred to provide units for the Pacific and China Squadrons. In

¹ Austria had just annexed Bosnia, and Germany had begun to increase her navy.

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Canada the naval bill introduced by Sir Robert Borden, providing for a money contribution to the Imperial Navy, was rejected by the Senate. The Imperial Conference of 1911 discussed the question of imperial control of foreign policy. Sir Joseph Ward's proposal for federation was acceptable to nobody, while Mr. Harcourt's suggestion of an Imperial Council, purely consultative in character, met with little favour. Nevertheless, resolutions were passed that it was desirable that the Dominions should be consulted before international agreements were entered into. The failure to find some machinery for co-operation was due to the natural dislike of the Dominions to weaken in any way their own autonomy.

Then came the War and with it an increased recognition of the equal status of the Dominions in the counsels of the Empire. The Imperial Conference due to meet in 1915 was postponed, but an important precedent was taken when Sir Robert Borden, on a visit to England in July 1915, was invited to attend a meeting of the British Cabinet. A similar invitation was extended to Mr. Hughes, the Australian Premier, in the next year, and in 1917 this precedent was developed by the creation of the Imperial War Cabinet. The Prime Ministers of the self-governing Dominions and representatives from India were invited 'to attend a series of special and continuous meetings of the War Cabinet in order to consider urgent questions affecting the prosecution of the War, the possible conditions on which, in agreement with our Allies, we could agree to its termination, and the problems which will then immediately arise'. A series of meetings was held March-May 1917, June-July 1918, and November-December 1918. Sir Robert Borden expressed the point of view of the Dominions when he declared in a speech made to the Empire Parliamentary Association in April 1917, 'Ministers from six nations sit round the Council Board, all of them responsible to their respective parliaments. . . . Each nation has its voice upon questions of common concern, each

preserves unimpaired its perfect autonomy, its self-government, and the responsibility of its ministers to their own electorate.'

Side by side with the Imperial Cabinet was the Imperial Conference which met at the same time and considered such questions as trade, emigration, and the future constitutional relations of the Commonwealth, and the resolution was passed that any change which might be made in the relations between England and the Dominions 'should be based upon a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth and of India as an important portion of the same ; should recognize the right of the Dominions and of India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common imperial concern'. Thus Mr. King, the Prime Minister of Canada, in a speech made February 1923, with reference to the telegram from Mr. Lloyd George to the Dominions asking for help in the event of complications occurring with Turkey over Chanak, said, 'Under our system of responsible self-government, Parliament [i. e. the Canadian Parliament] alone should determine, except in the case of threatened or actual invasion, whether the country should participate in wars in which other nations or other parts of the British Empire may become involved.'

At the Peace Conference at Versailles the Dominions practically enjoyed double representation. They had separate representation as Dominions and their representative could also form part of the British Empire Delegation. Thus Sir Robert Borden was Chairman of the British Empire Delegation in the absence of Mr. Lloyd George from the Conference during the last month. The Peace Treaty was signed separately by Dominion ministers acting on behalf of the King for the Dominions of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa, and for the Indian Empire, and Sir Robert Borden rightfully insisted that Canada could not ratify the

Treaty till her Parliament had an opportunity of discussing it. In the League of Nations the Dominions and India receive separate representation, while South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand are responsible to the League for the mandates of South-West Africa, New Guinea, and part of Samoa respectively.

The Imperial Conference met again in 1921. The precedent of the Imperial War Cabinet was again followed. The Prime Ministers of the Dominions and the representatives of India were invited to meetings of the British Cabinet called to deal with imperial and foreign questions of immediate urgency which arose in the course of its sessions. No further change in constitutional relations was made. It was felt that continuous consultation was impossible until substantial changes had been made in the method of communication, but that it was desirable that meetings should be held as far as possible annually. The practice of direct communication between the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and of the Dominions was maintained, as was the right of the latter to nominate Cabinet ministers to represent them in consultation with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

The next few years will probably see considerable developments in the relations between England and the Dominions. An obvious corollary to the separate representation of the Dominions in the League is the right to have ministers accredited to foreign Courts when desired. In May 1920 a minister nominated by Canada was accredited to the President of the United States at Washington, with the primary duty of representing the British Crown on all diplomatic questions between it and the United States affecting Canada only. He receives his instructions from, and is responsible to, the Canadian Government. In the absence of the British ambassador the Canadian minister is to be in charge of the embassy. The solution of the problem of the reconciliation of the autonomy of the Dominions with the unity of the Commonwealth is to be found in the Imperial

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Crown, the 'keystone of the imperial arch'. Within the United Kingdom the Crown is the supreme executive, but it always acts on the advice of a responsible minister. Similarly in each Dominion the Imperial Crown is the supreme executive, advised by the responsible Dominion minister. It is obvious that the Empire must have one foreign policy, but the practice of co-operation in conference and cabinet is making it a convention of the constitution that there is never contradictory advice. The Crown is now entering upon a more direct relationship with the Dominions and no longer touches them only indirectly through Viceroys and Governors-General. It is at once the symbol and the legal basis of the unity of the Commonwealth, to which all are united by the ties of a common allegiance and in which all find the formal instrument of their foreign policies. 'The King, as the constitutional sovereign of the Empire, occupies exactly the same place in Canada and in the whole British Empire as he does in Great Britain, and his House, though originally founded in Great Britain, belongs equally to all the other nations of the Commonwealth.'¹

¹ The Prince of Wales in *The Times*, 19 December 1919.



XV

COMMERCE AND SEA-POWER

THE sixteenth century had not only been a time of great achievement on the seas, but the sea began to take a place in the national literature. Nor were the writings merely descriptive, like Harrison's *Continuation* of Holinshed's *Chronicle*, nor propagandist, like Hakluyt's great prose epic, nor designed to open up trade and establish settlements, like Gilbert's famous *Discourse*. There were minds that saw beyond, and applied themselves to the consideration of sea-power and the bases upon which it rests. Sir Walter Raleigh began his speculations, as Admiral Mahan has done since, with the Punic Wars. He quoted the Greek historian Thucydides to show the 'advantage that may be taken upon a fleet of unequal speed'. He pointed out the advantage the Netherlands had over the Spaniards 'in the defence of their liberty, that, being masters of the sea, they could pass their army from place to place, unwearied and entire, with all the munition and artillery belonging to it, in the tenth part of the time wherein their enemies have been able to do it', and cited the taking of Zutphen as an instance. Hence he asserted, illustrating his point by the weakness of Spain after the defeat of the Armada as an example, that 'it is impossible for any maritime country, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend itself against a powerful enemy, that is master of



NAVAL WARFARE. A fight between sails and oars, a galleon and a galley. Engraved by
Callot. About 1600



MODERN WARFARE: A fleet in being with its allied services.

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the sea'. He urged 'that it was more difficult to defend a coast (with land forces) than to invade it', and concluded, 'to entertain those that shall assail us with their own beef in their bellies, and before they eat of our Kentish capons, I take it to be the wisest way—to do which, His Majesty, after God, will employ his good ships on the sea and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore'.

Bacon saw farther still :

To be masters of the sea is an abridgement of monarchy (i. e. the essence of sovereignty). We see the great effects of battles by sea. The battle of Actium¹ decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There are many examples where sea-fights have been final to a war ; thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will. Surely at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great ; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely [i. e. entirely] inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass, and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the seas.

The whole of Admiral Mahan's book, *The Influence of Sea-power on History*, is but a commentary on these words.

If sea-power is important to other nations, to the British Commonwealth it is vital. In spite of the development of aeronautics, the seas are its highways ; not only its means of communication with the outside world and with strangers, but the means of its domestic intercourse. The safety of its communications is essential to the well-being of any State. For the British Commonwealth the safety of its communications is the safety of the seas, the maintenance of which is therefore a sacred trust, as clear a duty as the maintenance of the freedom of the Strand. One of the functions of the British Navy is to act as a police force.²

¹ Between Antony and Octavianus, 31 B.C.

² The police functions of the Royal Navy are not always realized. To take a single instance, the Act passed by the British Parliament in

Moreover, if it is true that the security of the British Commonwealth reposes on the safety of the seas, it is no less true that the life of the British Isles depends upon it. The days have gone by when nations were able to be self-supporting. The maintenance of the vast population of the United Kingdom depends upon their daily and hourly trade; not in foodstuffs only, but in raw materials for vital industries. England can produce no cotton at home, while for a century the woollen and worsted industries have relied in the main upon imported wool. Without sea-borne trade England's prosperity would vanish and she could hardly support a third of her people. Since she adopted a Free Trade policy, which means that only those things which can be produced at a profit will be produced at home, while the others that cannot be made at a profit at home will be imported from abroad, she has been more dependent than ever upon the sea. All the trade of an island is sea-borne trade: it can import necessities in no other way but over the sea. Stoppage of sea traffic is therefore to Great Britain only another word for starvation. It is a great privilege to live on an island, as every Briton feels; but like other privileges it imposes its own duties and dangers. The growing trade of England in the seventeenth century, and still more its newly-planted colonies, brought home and gave a practical application to the theories of Raleigh and Bacon.

The lesson of history is that sea-power in the long run rests upon a healthy Merchant Service. The decline of the navies of Spain and Portugal proved the truth of this in the

1872 to regulate the importation of Kanakas from the South Sea Islands and especially from Fiji into Queensland, and requiring proper sureties and licences, would have been a dead letter but for the wholesome fear the masters of the unauthorized labour schooners had of the captain of a British man-of-war. This fear was wholesome enough to direct the masters' attention to other and safer channels, and stopped the illegal traffic. Again, in June 1924 a division of fast destroyers has been added to the British naval force in the Red Sea to reinforce the patrols of the British, French, and Italian navies that are engaged in suppressing the slave traffic from the African to the Arabian coast.

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seventeenth century. English kings from the Yorkists onwards realized the importance of having English goods carried in English bottoms. Bacon in his essay, *Of Empire*, called merchants the 'portal vein' of a country, the vein that feeds all the other veins; 'if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little.' The Merchant Service is more than this; it is the Reserve of the Navy. If the Navy is strong enough, when a war breaks out, to hold its own through the first stages, the Reserve will tell; it will be able to get ready and supply reinforcements. Not only its sailors and stokers but all the hundred crafts and industries connected with shipping will be brought into play, as they were in the war of 1914, as they were in the time of Nelson, and as they always have been. Against the Armada merchant ships fought beside ships of the line: in Defoe's day the smaller craft furnished tenders to the men-of-war; in our own day the fishing fleet supplied the Navy with its mine-sweepers and mine-layers.

Inextricably bound up with Britain's naval development was the system of commercial policy known as the Policy of Power, or the Mercantile System. For Kings, Bacon laid down one 'general rule, which ever holdeth; which is, that Princes do keep due sentinel that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches or the like) as they become more able to annoy them than they were'. With the growth of the kingdoms of France and Spain in the sixteenth century grew up a rivalry in Europe. European peace came to depend upon a balance of forces. Henry VII saw this and Elizabeth brought the upholding of it to high efficiency as a system.

The Navigation Acts, the most famous of which was passed in Cromwell's time, were part of this policy of developing the nation's resources. The Dutch had become the carriers of the world. Besides having a monopoly of all the trade of the East, they were the carriers for the Baltic countries, Brandenburg, Denmark, Sweden, Muscovy, Poland, and had since the

peace¹ done the carriage between America and Spain, and between America and France. The Dutch wars were therefore mercantile wars. Moreover, in 1654 De Witt propounded the entirely new doctrine of *Vry Schip Vry Goed* (free ship free goods), claiming that in time of war the neutral ship, which was then and is always free from capture, should through her own freedom make free any enemy goods she chose to carry. The claim was a merchant's claim made on the ground that, unless adopted, the United Provinces would lose the advantages they obtained from 'loading with all nations'. The appeal was made to France, who would have none of it, and to England simultaneously. Cromwell, though tolerant to an unexampled degree for that age, and ready, as S. R. Gardiner has said, to 'suffer fools gladly', was of all men the least likely to be fooled. He declined to restrict the free action of his Navy.

Indeed, the Commonwealth Government was at considerable pains to improve the condition of the Navy.² They paid wages regularly and supplied better victuals than the Stuarts had done, though they did not equal the Long Parliament in this respect. For the first time definite provision was made by the Government for sick and wounded sailors. The man-power of the Navy rose to 16,000; under Charles I it had scarcely exceeded a quarter of that number. The fleet had played no inconsiderable part in the Civil War from 1648 onwards, when a portion of it went over to the Royalist side. When the war was over, Blake pursued Prince Rupert first to Lisbon and then to the Azores, and his final triumph had its effect in causing the European Powers to recognize the Commonwealth. From Blake's day dates the extension of the Navy's protection of English commerce to

¹ The recognition of the independence of the Seven United Provinces by Philip III of Spain in 1609, known as the *Twelve Years' Truce*. The formal independence of the United Provinces was not acknowledged by Spain till the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

² The number of ships in the Navy in Charles I's reign (1633) was 50. Under the Commonwealth it rose, in 1658, to 157.

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Mediterranean waters, where piracy was the great menace. In 1655 Blake dealt with Tunis and burnt nine of the Dey's men-of-war off Porto Farina, and three years later obtained not only from Tunis but also from Tripoli treaties protecting English trade from interference. In Cromwell's war with Spain considerable naval achievements were accomplished. Even the capture of Gibraltar was thought of. In 1656 Captain Richard Stayner, in a brilliant action, captured a galleon worth £600,000. Blake blockaded the Spanish coast all through the following winter,¹ a thing quite new in those days, and in April 1657 destroyed the silver fleet in the harbour of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe. This was Blake's last achievement. He died on board his ship at the entrance to Plymouth Sound on his way home.

The time of the Commonwealth marks an important stage in our naval development. The idea of a professional navy was taking shape. Clarendon observed that seamen were 'in a manner a nation by themselves'. The English Navy was far better organized than the Dutch, with whom rivalry continued till the carrying trade was in English hands and the accession of William III enlisted the two nations on the same side.

With the reign of William III began that series of wars with France lasting till 1815, which Seeley called so happily in his *Expansion of England* the 'Second Hundred Years War'. The figures are striking enough. Out of 128 years sixty-four were spent in actual and formal warfare. During the intervals of peace in Europe war often continued unabated in India and America. The national debt stood at a million in 1687; in 1815 it was over 800 millions, an

¹ Cf. Edmund Waller's lines :

And now some months, encamping on the main,
Our naval army had besieged Spain ;
They that the whole world's monarchy designed
Are to their ports by our bold fleet confined,
From whence one red cross they triumphant see,
Riding without a rival on the sea.

equivalent of more than seven millions spent on war each year during the whole period of 128 years. In those wars Britain lost one empire but gained another. At the end of them the bones of the British Commonwealth were there, ready for the succeeding century to clothe with living flesh and infuse with a living spirit. In all these wars it was trade that was pursued and sea-power that counted;¹ mistaken trade policy and loss of sea-power threw away the first empire, recovery of sea-power won the second and a new trade policy retained it; so that of the last great naval battle of the war, Admiral Mahan could write, 'At Trafalgar it was not Ville-neuve that failed, but Napoleon that was vanquished; not Nelson that won, but England that was saved'.

The commercial aspect of the struggle did not appear at first, and even the naval aspect was eclipsed by the achievements on land. Louis XIV threw away the advantage he had in his navy and his admiral (Tourville), first in allowing William to sail, then in allowing him to cross to Ireland, and thirdly in allowing him to return. The battle of La Hogue, where Admiral Russell with Sir Cloudesley Shovel as second-in-command defeated the French fleet, was thus the decisive battle of the Grand Alliance War. In the next war the brilliant campaigns of Marlborough on the Continent obscured the lesser campaigns of Peterborough in the peninsula of Spain. The rejoicings over Blenheim in 1704 caused the great event of the capture of Gibraltar in the same year to pass comparatively unnoticed. Louis XIV's decision to seek the greatness of France on the continent of Europe rather than on the oceans appeared at the time not as a mistaken policy but as an overwhelming danger. England's chief gains from the War of the Spanish Succession were apparently New-

¹ On the accession of William III the Navy had 173 ships; at his death in 1702 it had 272. At the death of George II the number was 412. In 1783 it was 617, of which 174 ships were ships of the line. On January 1st, 1805, the number was 949, made up of 175 ships of the line, 24 fifty to sixty-gun ships, and 750 frigates, sloops, and other armed vessels.

foundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson Bay territory, but she also got from Spain the Rock of Gibraltar and Port Mahon in Minorca. Important as these last were in securing the Mediterranean trade, and in cutting in two the navies not only of Spain but also of France, and in rendering partly useless Louis XIV's newly-fortified naval port of Toulon, the importance was not at first realized. Not once but twice George I offered to restore Gibraltar to Spain.



GIBRALTAR ROCK AND THE STRAITS

The Merchant Service had been steadily growing, and at the close of the War of the Spanish Succession British merchantmen, having the reputation of being better protected than those of the Dutch, were more sought after as carriers. The following figures from a report of a Committee of the House of Lords, quoted by Admiral Mahan, give some idea of the importance of the part sea-power played. In the first five years of the war England had lost 30 ships of war and 1,146 merchant ships, of which 300 were retaken. The French had lost 80 ships of war and 1,346 merchant ships; 175 privateers were also taken. After the peace British sea-

power remained vigilant. A war was raging between Austria and the Turks, and the Spanish took advantage of this to try to recover some of their recent losses in Italy. A Spanish army was landed in Sicily, but Admiral Sir George Byng attacked and destroyed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro, and, by upholding the Treaty, also upheld British trade in the Mediterranean. The earlier half of Anson's career gives an idea of the duties of the Navy at the time. After taking part in the battle of Passaro he was given command of the sloop *Weasel* in 1722, with the duty of putting down smuggling from the Netherlands. In 1724 he was sent out as captain of the *Scarborough* to the Carolinas, where he remained for eleven years, to protect merchant ships from pirates, to provide them with convoys when trading with the Bahamas, and to keep an eye on the Spanish cruisers.

The great break in the 'Second Hundred Years War' is covered by the ministry of Walpole, during which peace was kept with France for twenty years. Trade prospered, taxes were low, and the National Debt was reduced from 50 millions to 43 millions. Yet the country continually grumbled :

How happy a state did Britain once enjoy,
When no threats from foreign nations our peace could annoy,
Then Spain dared not invade
Our English merchants' trade . . .

No more typical Englishman ever lived than Doctor Johnson, who went to London with his pupil David Garrick in 1737 to make his fortune. Johnson began his literary career the next year with a poem called *London*. It reflects clearly enough the popular feeling both against France and Spain :

London ! the needy villain's general home,
The common-sewer of Paris and of Rome ! . . .
Forgive my transports on a theme like this,
I cannot bear a French metropolis.

and

Has Heaven reserv'd, in pity for the poor,
No pathless waste, or undiscovered shore ?
No secret island in the boundless main ?
No peaceful desert yet unclaimed by Spain ?

338 Commerce and Sea-power

Walpole did not gain the gratitude of the commercial classes. His ministry stood the shock of the outcry against the contract the Government gave to Wood to coin half-pence in Ireland. It stood the furious opposition to the quite wise Excise Bill. It fell before the continued complaints of the Merchant Service of their treatment by the Spanish *guarda costas* and the unworthy inaction of the British Navy. The story of Jenkins and his ear is probably a true story—and the elder Pitt, then aged 31, fanned the flame to a white heat. Again, in 1726 Spain had been making preparations for an attack upon Gibraltar and Walpole had sent out Admiral Hosier with twenty ships to watch off Porto Bello, but, as the public learnt later from Glover's famous ballad *Hosier's Ghost*, with orders not to fight. When the Opposition had turned against Walpole all the forces of 'patriotism and plunder' and war was declared in 1739, Vernon took easily with six ships what Hosier had not been allowed to take with twenty; and the tune of the National Anthem was first used to celebrate the victory. Hosier's ghost addresses the victorious Vernon thus:

To have fallen, my country crying
 He has played an English part,
 Had been better far than dying
 Of a griev'd and broken heart.
 Unrepining at thy glory
 Thy successful arms we hail;
 But remember our sad story
 And let Hosier's wrongs prevail. . . .
 After this proud foe subduing,
 When your patriot friends you see,
 Think on vengeance for my ruin,
 And for England sham'd in me.¹

The same year Anson set out on his famous voyage round the world, recalling that of Drake, having his fleet scattered off

¹ Hosier died at Jamaica in August 1727 of the virulent fever which had decimated his squadron. Glover merely reflects the bitter political prejudice of the day in ascribing it to resentment at the inactivity forced upon him by the Government. He accomplished the object for which he was sent out—viz. to prevent the Spaniards from sending home treasure.

Extract of the Narrative of Rob. Jenkins, Master of the Rebecca.—We sailed from Jamaica, with sugar, &c. for London; but Ap. 9. near the Havanna, a Spanish Guard Costa came up, rowing with 16 oars, and firing several shot, order'd our boat to be sent on board her; in which went the Mate, with our clearance from Jamaica. They detained our men, and sent the boat back full of armed men, who told Cap. Jenkins, that they were come to visit his ship for money, logwood, &c. the product of the Spanish settlements. The Capt. answered, The King of Spain's Officers were wellcome; but that there was nothing on board, but what was the produce of Jamaica. Their number amounted to about 50 men: who broke open all her Hatches, lockers, and chests, but found nothing. Then their Lieutenant ordered Capt. Jenkins hands to be tied, and his Mates, and seized them to the fore-mast. Then they cut and violently beat a Mulatto boy: who confessing nothing, they put a rope about his neck, and another about the Captain's, which fastening together, they hoisted them up to the fore-yard: the boy slipped through the noose; and after a short space, they let the Capt. fall down again on the deck, and asked him, if he would confess where his money was. He told them he had none; on which he was hoisted a second time, and swiftly let down again, and gave them the same answer. In about half an hour, one of them search'd his pockets, took his silver buckles out of his shoes; and then he was hoisted up again, and kept hanging 'till he was quite strangled; after which they let him fall down the fore-hatch upon the casks, which bruised him very much; from whence he was dragged by the neck upon the deck, where he lay to appearance dead for near a quarter of an hour. When he recover'd, their Lieutenant, with pistols and a cutlass, went to him, crying, Confess or die he told him he had no more money than he shew'd him at first, being 4 guineas, 1 pistole, and 4 double doubloons; which being commanded, he gave him. No sooner had he done this, but the Lieut. took hold of his left ear, and with his cutlass slit it down; and another took hold of it and tore it off, but gave him the piece, bidding him carry it to his Majesty King George. His Mate and Boatswain were beat: the whole crew were stript of their cloaths; beds, &c. the Captain's own loss amounted to 112l. They took away all his instruments of navigation, and all his candles. Being dismissed, the Capt. bore away for the Havannah: but those in the sloop stood after him, declaring that if he did not go immediately for the Gulph, they would set the ship on fire: and so rather than have a second visit from them, they recommended themselves to God; and after many great perils happily arrived in the Thames last friday. 4 Ev.

From *The Grub Street Journal* of 24 June 1731

Tierra del Fuego, refitting on Robinson Crusoe's island, Juan Fernandez, taking a Spanish prize near Callao, 58 of his men under Lieutenant Brett taking the town of Paita, capturing the Manilla galleon and returning as Drake had done round the Cape of Good Hope. But this was the end of British success for a time. Vernon failed to capture Cartagena and France came into the war, through a secret treaty of which Walpole no doubt had been aware. Taxes rose ; the Jacobite party began to give trouble, and Frederick of Prussia by invading Silesia, part of the territories of Maria Theresa of Austria, started the War of the Austrian Succession. England found herself with two wars on her hands, in which with her allies, Austria and Holland, she was matched against France, Spain, and Prussia. While the British armies were fighting magnificently at Dettingen and Fontenoy, the fleets won a number of minor triumphs such as the neutrality of Naples and the capture of Louisburg. But the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) left things much as they had been, and in particular the commercial relations of England and Spain were put back to the footing on which they had stood at the time of Jenkins and his ear.

Such a peace was little more than a truce. The merchants of the country and the needs of the colonies had produced the war and they demanded a settlement. 'Ships, colonies and commerce' was their watchword. In America the splendid empire France had founded was eclipsing and bidding fair to surround the British colonies. In India the last vestige of the Mughal's power had vanished, and the struggle for supremacy between the French and English companies had begun.

Meanwhile alliances in Europe had been rearranged. The King of England was Elector of Hanover all through the century ; the arms of Hanover were quartered with the Royal Arms of England ; consequently a weather eye had to be kept on Hanoverian interests, and an alliance was made with Frederick of Prussia. This drove Austria into alliance with France. The Seven Years War (1756-63) did not start well

for England. General Braddock was ambushed while marching on Fort Duquesne on the Ohio River. Admiral John Byng, son of the victor of Cape Passaro, sent out to relieve Port Mahon, besieged by a French force, fought an indecisive action with the French fleet and left Minorca to its fate. In India, Calcutta had been captured and 123 British prisoners, including women and children, had perished in the Black Hole. That was in June 1756. A force of 900 English soldiers and 1,500 sepoy was got together by the Madras Government (who heard the news only in August) and carried to the Hooghly by a British fleet. On the 23rd June, 1757, Clive won the battle of Plassey. On June 29 the Coalition between Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle was effected. The news of Plassey was not yet known and the nation was dispirited. Pitt infused it with enthusiasm. Sir Edward Hawke took command of the Channel fleet; Boscawen of the Mediterranean; Pocock of the fleet in the Indian Ocean; while Howe, Rodney, and Keppel led squadrons whose business it was to cut France off from her colonies in America. Pitt followed the policy he had once condemned of subsidizing the Allies on the continent of Europe and employed Britons on the sea.

The traditional rule of the Navy was restored, the rule that it was Byng's crime to have abandoned, the rule which made it the duty of a British admiral to seek the enemy's fleet and to destroy it. This was the tradition, which has been handed down by a succession of seamen from Drake to Nelson and from Nelson to Beatty. It was this tradition that was now acted upon by Boscawen, who let a French fleet come out of Toulon and ran it aground in Lagos Bay, and by Hawke, who destroyed the Brest fleet on the rocks of Quiberon in a gale. French naval policy was always more cautious. Not only did French fleets remain for long periods in port, and so get less practice in seamanship, but French admirals were always influenced by the fear of losing ships. The French never attained on the sea the dash that has always distinguished them on land, and their great skill in commerce-destroying

only went to prove that attacks on commerce, however annoying, are not capable of exerting a deciding influence on the course of a war against a nation that retains its fleets more or less intact. The great victory of the Heights of Abraham in 1759 (the year in which the keel of Nelson's *Victory* was laid down, the year in which John Smeaton completed the stone Eddystone Lighthouse, the year in which the Younger Pitt was born, and the year in which Handel died) was largely due to the Navy. All through the expedition Wolfe was accompanied by Admiral Saunders's fleet, in which James Cook, not yet famous, was serving as master of the *Mercury*. He it was who, disguised as a Red Indian, day after day took soundings in the St. Lawrence and charted the channel for the famous night-landing of Wolfe's troops.

In India the result of Plassey was made certain by the constant support of the fleet. Admiral Pocock fought three actions with the French Commodore, D'Aché, and though he failed to relieve Fort St. David in 1758, by forcing D'Aché to retire to the Isle de France to refit he saved Madras and enabled the British to take Pondicherry.

France for a time was exhausted. The destruction of her commerce and the pressure of the British blockade were telling heavily. The rejoicing that hailed the arrival of a West Indian convoy in 1759 showed how rare such an event had become. George II died and Pitt had left office and been offered the Governorship of Canada before the Seven Years War was ended. By the Peace of Paris England gained undisputed sway in North America; she obtained Tobago, Dominica, and Granada in the West Indies, and Florida from Spain. Yet Pitt denounced a peace by which Britain won enough to estrange Europe, not enough to despise Europe's enmity; and though it satisfied the commercial classes Pitt was right. The British Empire was not left secure; three more wars were to be fought before the question of predominance in North America and in India was settled.

During the interval of peace between the Seven Years War and the War of American Independence, Captain Cook was performing one of those services with which the Navy delights to occupy its quieter moments. His expeditions to discover the existence or non-existence of a Southern Continent and to discover by way of Behring's Straits a north-west passage, the idea of which still lingered in men's minds, were similar to many another naval expedition of discovery. In these, Cook takes his place in the great roll of naval discoverers, from Frobisher to Captain Scott. The discovery and mapping of south-eastern Australia were the result; and he thus called into existence a new continent to take the place of the colonies that were about to secede.

The War of American Independence, though resembling the other wars of the century in that before it was over England was matched against France and Spain, in many respects stands by itself. It was largely a naval war; but the Navy did not behave with its usual dash, and the surrender of Yorktown was due to actual, if temporary, loss of the command of the sea. The important thing about it from the point of view of sea-power and commerce was the lesson that it taught. The King's armies failed on land for want of proper support from the sea, while Captain Paul Jones, the true founder of the American Navy, with magnificent daring and consummate seamanship, harried the English coasts, raided Whitehaven, and fought a pitched battle with a Baltic squadron, capturing the *Serapis* and the *Scarborough* and carrying them off as prizes to Holland. The lesson was soon learnt, and at the battle of the Saintes (1782), one of the great battles of British naval history, Rodney not only beat the French fleet under the Comte de Grasse, who was trying to capture Jamaica, but re-established the ascendancy and prestige of the Navy, as Elliott's magnificent defence of Gibraltar re-established that of the Army.

But if the Navy had failed in the principal seat of war, it had not failed in the secondary. France sent her best admiral,

de Suffren, not to America but to India. Warren Hastings was embarrassed by the very serious attack upon the British strongholds by Haidar Ali of Mysore, who, while a war with the Mahrattas was already raging, descended upon the Carnatic with 80,000 men, partly officered by Frenchmen. The time was critical. De Suffren showed what manner of man he was by attacking, on his way out to India, a British expedition at Porto Praya in the Cape Verde Islands, which had been sent out to seize the Dutch colony of the Cape of Good Hope. If the action was indecisive, it prevented the British from taking the Cape.¹ In Indian waters de Suffren found himself matched with Sir Edward Hughes. At first de Suffren had the advantage in numbers, but Hughes was reinforced. Five actions were fought, all indecisive, for though de Suffren was the greater commander, Hughes was dogged and held his fleet together. After one action both sides got ready for the next by robbing their frigates to refit the broken masts and spars of their capital ships. De Suffren captured the important harbour of Trincomalee, but the delay of France in sending reinforcements turned the balance of native opinion in favour of the British. Haidar Ali, who died in 1782, confessed defeat on his death-bed, saying that he 'could not dry up the sea'. He had learnt what every Englishman knows, and what some of her great men tried to impress upon France, that India can only be held by sea-power. In November 1781 France sent out General de Bussy to take supreme command by land and sea. His convoy was captured, as was a second convoy which might have brought him on, and he only arrived in March 1783. Meanwhile Hughes had been reinforced by a strong expedition, convoyed

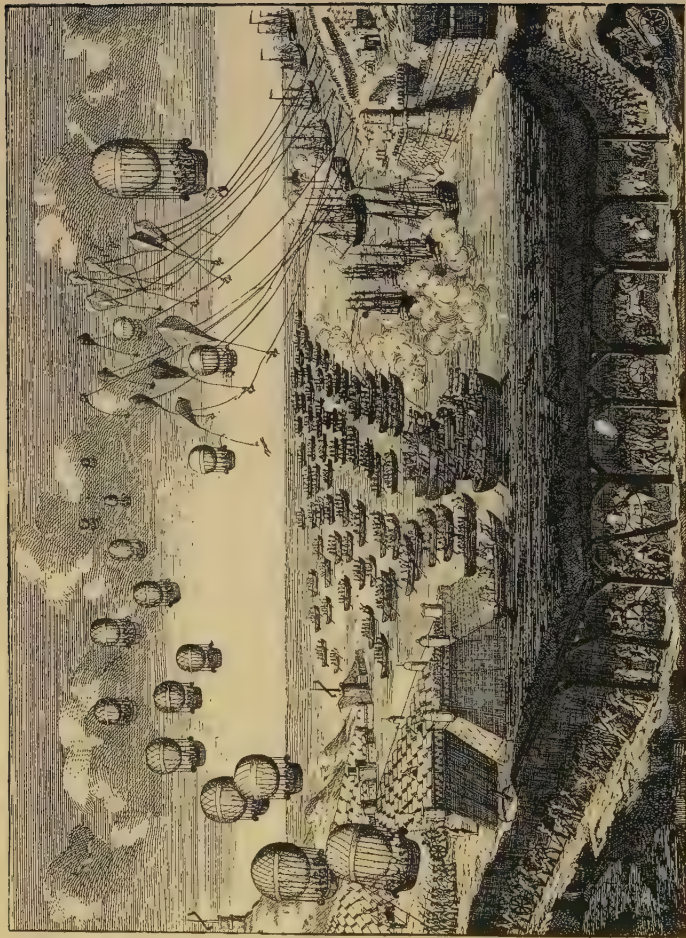
¹ Cape Town had a garrison largely French for two years (1781-3) after de Suffren's action, so that the town earned the name of 'Little Paris'. The 'French lines' of earthworks can still be seen. It was clear that either France or Great Britain would have the Cape, and as a matter of fact Holland, before the 'next war', made secret treaties with both States to occupy the Cape and other colonies if called upon, and hold them against the other. Hence the British occupation in 1795.

by six ships of the line under Sir Richard Bickerton. Even so, de Suffren nearly carried off the honours, by forcing Hughes to retire to Madras and leave a British army, inferior to the French and unsupported, before Cuddalore on the Coromandel Coast, when the news of the Treaty of Versailles relieved them. He was a gallant foe and deserved the ovations he received from all sides, not least from every British ship he met on his voyage home.¹ The actions were minor, but the possibilities were great. England's position in India and the fate of the East India Company hung in the balance.

Thanks to the recovery of her sea-power England gained peace with honour. The loss of Minorca was felt. It was twenty years before the capture of Malta made up for the absence of a station in the Mediterranean. But trade prospered. George III, admitting that he had provoked the war, generously insisted on being the first to meet the friendship of the independent United States of America. The country thus enjoyed ten precious years of peace under the direction of the younger Pitt. He refused to go to war with France until he was driven into it by the French, who overran the Netherlands, threatened Holland, and when England protested, declared war upon her.

The two wars which followed, the Revolutionary and the Napoleonic Wars, lasted from 1793 to 1815, and focus the leading features of Britain's wars since 1688. Once again the issue was decided by British sea-power, which in the end defeated France, and by British commerce, which gave England the almost unlimited credit that enabled her both to last out herself and to pay subsidies to the hard-pressed nations on the Continent. Nelson but epitomized and per-

¹ De Suffren's appearance must have astonished the English sailor. He was short, corpulent, bald, and slovenly in his dress. He wore shoes with the straps cut off so that they looked like slippers, blue cloth breeches unbuttoned at the knee, a coarse linen shirt, and no waistcoat or cravat, and he ate voraciously. But William Hickey, an English 'buck' who visited the East Indies and was entertained by him, has not sufficient praise for his kindness and chivalry.



Napoleon's effort to crush Britain. A fanciful print of 1798 contemplating invasion by air, sea, and tunnel

fectcd all the experience the Navy had gained and the traditions it had inherited. Once more France made a bid for India,¹ when Napoleon, following the advice which the philosopher and mathematician Leibnitz had given in vain to Louis XIV, tried to seize Egypt.

The Battle of the Nile broke the attempt on Egypt. Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, one of Nelson's officers, ruined the Syrian expedition by his defence of Acre. The battles of Camperdown and St. Vincent broke the attempt of France to unite the Spanish and Dutch navies with her own.

An 'Armed Neutrality' of the Baltic States, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia had been formed during the War of American Independence, as a protest against British exercise of the right of search. It was revived in 1801 and broken up by Nelson at the battle of Copenhagen. When war broke out again, after the truce of Amiens, French sea-power was finally crushed at Trafalgar and England saved from invasion. In 1807, when the Tsar met Napoleon on a raft in the middle of the Niemen and the two Emperors, agreeing to divide the world between them, made a secret provision to use the Danish fleet against Britain, George Canning, then Foreign Secretary, somehow learned the secret, and the Danish fleet was seized. Napoleon failed to achieve any success against the British Navy.

After 1805 England supplemented her old policy of subsidizing other nations to do her land fighting on the Continent for her, by sending armies to Spain to back up the Spanish nation in their rising against French tyranny. It was sea-power that made such a policy possible. Wellington's campaigns and all the food and stores of his armies were based

¹ Our sea-route to India was secured in 1806 by re-occupying the Cape, which had been restored to Holland in 1802. The possession of Aden (taken over by the East India Company in 1839), Singapore (annexed in 1819 by agreement with the Raja), and Hong-Kong (ceded in 1842 after the Chinese war) give us three very valuable naval bases in the Eastern seas.



A FLEET AND HARBOUR, 17th century



A MODERN FLEET. German battleships surrendering

upon his port, where he built the lines of Torres Vedras, and

Round affrighted Lisbon drew
The treble works, the vast designs,
Of his labour'd rampart-lines,
Where he greatly stood at bay,
Whence he issued forth anew,
And ever great and greater grew.

Having failed to break British sea-power, Napoleon tried to break her commerce. By the Berlin Decree of 1806 and the Milan Decree of 1807 he sought to seal up all the coasts of Europe against her. All trade in British or colonial goods was forbidden to the nations of the Continent, and no ship sailing from British harbours or colonies might touch the shores of the Continent. Britain answered these 'Decrees' by the 'Orders in Council', whereby she forbade neutrals to enter any port under French influence, threatened to blockade any port which excluded British ships, and to capture any ships whatever which carried goods to the Continent, unless they had first touched at a British port and paid duty. Napoleon succeeded by these means in embroiling England at last in a war with the United States, to whom he had sold Louisiana, but there his success ended. British trade was not ruined because she had the sea-power to defend it. The Continent first struggled, then smuggled from sheer necessity. The very laws of supply and demand fought against Napoleon. In 1813 brown sugar was costing the French 6s. a pound while it cost the English 6*d*. The pressure which Napoleon, for want of a fleet, was unable to exercise against England was imposed upon him, noiselessly, steadily, relentlessly. Instead of isolating England his policy isolated the Continent and drove it at length to rise against him.

After 1815 British supremacy at sea was unquestioned. The presence of a British fleet at Navarino made possible the achievement of Greek independence. British fleets maintained the army in the Crimea. Italian freedom, like that of Greece, is indebted to the British Navy, which enabled Garibaldi to

pass over the Straits of Messina. Victory in the South African War, fought 7,000 miles away from these islands, was only made possible through the Navy; and it was only the lack of an adequate navy which prevented Germany from interfering on behalf of the Boers.¹

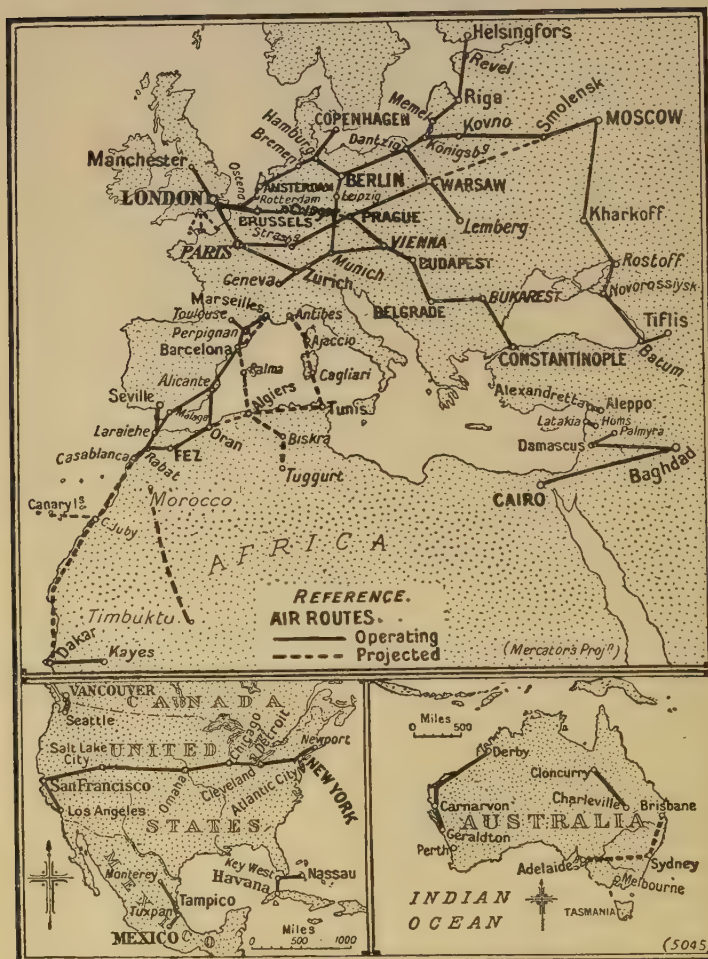
In 1914 against Germany's claim to dominate the world, British sea-power again played the part it had played already on three similar occasions in three succeeding centuries—against Spain in 1588, against Monarchical France in 1689, and against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France in 1793. Like Napoleon, the Germans tried to break Britain's trade, but as of yore those weather-beaten ships, out of sight, but ever watchful, swift, silent, efficient, like the men who manned them, strangled Germany's military efforts as they had strangled Napoleon's. As in former wars, the Merchant Service proved to be the reserve and the recruiting ground of the Royal Navy; as before, sea-power, now reinforced by seaplanes and aircraft,² saved these islands from invasion,

¹ Germany had helped to cause trouble in South Africa in 1883-6, and again in 1894-6.

² Aircraft played a vital part in the Great War—in alliance with both the sea and the land forces. In naval actions aircraft was used with honour, as in the Harwich squadrons' dashing attack on Cuxhaven on Christmas Eve, 1914, or the fine attack by our air forces from the deck of H.M.S. *Furious* on the Zeppelin sheds in July 1918—and with dishonour, as when in the action off the Dogger Bank in January 1915 the crew of a German Zeppelin deliberately dropped bombs upon the British boats that were picking up the survivors of the sunk German cruiser *Blücher*. The first successful flight in a seaplane had only been made in 1910, and the first Englishman to fly off the water was Commander Schwann, R.N., in 1911.

Aircraft is not likely to remove the need for a navy, for carriage by sea has always been the cheapest form of carriage, and merchant-shipping requires the protection of a navy. But for other purposes of communication aircraft is of immense importance to the British Commonwealth. By air India can be reached in 5 days instead of 18; South Africa in 7 days instead of 21; Australia in 11 days instead of 5 weeks; and by air communication is possible across deserts, e.g. the Air Mail Service across the Syrian desert between Cairo and Baghdad. If aircraft cannot replace shipping as a means of transporting

WORLD AIR ROUTES.



and as before, when the enemy's fleet was rendered useless and her submarine menace checkmated, the war gradually came to an end. The War of 1914 once again proved conclusively that without sea-power no nation that is at war can maintain her communications with her Colonies or retain them.

The future of Britain, like the past, lies with her Navy, which holds not only the threads of her commerce but is the only guarantee of the safety of her communications. Some of the setting has changed since 1815. The recent war has left the British Commonwealth, the United States, and Japan the three great naval Powers of the world. The opening of the Panama Canal and the development of South America, where Canning in recognizing the independence of the Spanish Colonies claimed to have 'called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old', are shifting the world's centre of gravity towards the Pacific, in the midst of which lies Australia. The new problems, the possible dangers which may there arise, but emphasize the importance of keeping open the seas of the world. A navy still achieves many of its successes in times of peace as well as in times of war, and it must still be ready at all times to keep the seas. The League of Nations should, as all hope it will, make great armaments unnecessary; but it will not police the streets and highways. And the streets and highways of the British Commonwealth are the Seven Seas.

goods, the development of aviation must prove a factor of vast import in the future of the Commonwealth—not only as a definite branch of its armed forces by sea and land, but as a pioneer in its commercial activities.



XVI

THE IMPERIAL CONSCIENCE

THE primary object of the nations of Europe in seeking out new lands beyond the ocean was a commercial one: they wanted new markets for home manufactures. With that object this chapter is only indirectly concerned. But from the first, higher motives were also present. The Spaniards, the Portuguese, and the French, all of whom entered the field before England, certainly wished to plant Christianity in the new lands. Prince Henry the Navigator formed a project of sailing up the 'West Nile' (the Niger), in order to join hands with the mythical Prester John and form a Christian alliance against the Moors and Turks. Vasco da Gama expressed the feeling of the age in his simple statement: 'We come in search of Christians and spices.' The Portuguese sent St. Francis Xavier, one of the first of Loyola's associates in founding the order of the Jesuits, with their fleet to Goa in 1541. The expulsion of the Moors from Granada fired Columbus with religious zeal and made the early Spanish expeditions to the New World appear almost in the light of Crusades. Priests accompanied all expeditions as a matter of course. The French missionaries, like the Spanish, were as untiring as they were heroic in their efforts at converting the natives of the new lands.

Moreover Spain, France, and Portugal must be given credit for having early realized that to a certain extent they had incurred new responsibilities to the new lands they were

opening up, and with having tried in a measure to fulfil them. Spain at all events lost no time in drawing up an elaborate scheme of colonial government. The Council of the Indies was established in 1511, and to it the whole management of the colonies—civil, ecclesiastical, and military—was entrusted. The famous *Casa de la Contratacion*—or Board of Trade—was a department of this Council. The Spanish system was over-organized, and it was, moreover, inelastic and suspicious. Privileges were guarded too jealously, and only specially selected persons were allowed to set forth. ‘I have marvelled sometimes at Spain,’ wrote Bacon, ‘how they clasp and contain so large Dominions with so few natural Spaniards.’ All sailings had to be made from the single port of Seville.¹ Schools were set up in connexion with the churches but encouraged by the Government, so that the Englishman Thomas Gage, resident in Guatemala, could record in 1648 that ‘in most of the towns they have a School where children are taught to read, to sing and some to write’;² and in 1551 Charles V founded the Universities of Mexico and Lima. But no attempt was made to develop a form of government suitable to new lands—on the contrary, everything was done to reproduce in the New World the social and economic conditions of the Old. In the sixteenth century Spain was still feudal; but its feudalism had lost the spirit that had made it a living thing. The fine thing in feudalism was the dependence of rank upon duty and service. But this had largely vanished. On the other hand, a feudal contempt for

¹ Famous under the Phoenicians, then under the Romans, capital of Spain during the ascendancy of the Vandals and Goths, magnificent and prosperous under the Moors, by whom it was rebuilt, taken from them by Ferdinand III in 1248, and from then capital of Spain till the reign of Charles V, Seville rose to the climax of its prosperity after the discovery of the New World. Then it became the home of princely merchants and the mart for the colonies. Its trade was afterwards transferred to Cadiz, though it is still a busy river-port. Velasquez was born there in 1599, and in the seventeenth century it was the home of Murillo.

² E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America*.

trade and industry survived in Spain, and thus in the new Spanish lands across the ocean industries were not nurtured, and the export trade fell into the hands of a few monopolists. The best feature of the Spanish system—on paper—was the elaborate provision it made for the proper treatment of the Indians. But this failed too. The Indian was a despised being : he was deprived of his property and had no chance of bettering his lot. In spite of all regulations he was enslaved and put to forced and excessive labour, until, to save him, Las Casas¹ actually advocated the importation of negro slaves. Jesuit missionaries formed Indian settlements in Paraguay, where the Indians were kept apart from Europeans and lived like bands of happy children, but did not learn to govern and look after themselves.

The French, who came later into the field, had a scheme of colonial government in many ways similar to the Spanish, though it was less elaborated and more liberally interpreted. France aimed at redressing in the New World the effect of the Reformation in the Old. Care was taken that all the settlers sent out were sound Roman Catholics, and the French Court actually informed the Spaniards of a settlement of Huguenot refugees in Florida, in order to have it exterminated. Jesuit missionaries were encouraged, and French influence among the Indians owed not a little to their teaching.

In striking contrast to these state-aided and carefully formulated schemes stand the free and unpremeditated activities of England. When Spain was laying the foundations of her overseas Empire, England was in no condition to follow a similar policy, as is proved by the neglect to follow up the discoveries of Cabot for more than half a century. When a fresh start was made it was made by individuals, not by the state—and it is fortunate that it was made by men like Drake and Raleigh, who set an example for Englishmen

¹ Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566) was an eminent Dominican. He went to Hispaniola in 1502 and thenceforward laboured as a missionary among the Indians. He made several voyages to Spain, to remonstrate against the cruelties of the Spaniards, and died in Madrid. He wrote a *History of the Indies*.

of all time in the treatment of natives. In California the natives believed Drake to be more than human. In Guiana Raleigh sternly insisted that his men should pay for all that they took, and that women should be treated with courtesy. One old chieftain, Topiawari, gave him his only son to take back to England, and, two hundred years after Raleigh's death, the Indians of Guiana still looked for his return. Of all the Elizabethan seamen Raleigh filled the largest place in the minds of the men of his own day, as Drake has done in later times. It is not extravagant to trace the first consciousness of 'the white man's burden', which forms a large part of the Imperial conscience, to the great example of these two knights.

Drake and Raleigh set a standard in the treatment of native races, but it was not given to them to found colonies. That was done in the following century partly by the fervour of religious dissent. England had no conscious policy of using dissent from the established church as an agent in colonization, but she allowed dissenters to form settlements, and granted them lands and privileges as a safety-valve for discontent at home. The first Empire was largely the outcome of this policy—liberal for that age. Eight, or, if the two Carolinas be included, ten of the thirteen States that triumphed in the War of Independence, arose in this way. Such colonies were unique. No other nation had anything like them. From the seventeenth century onwards, America presented the dual spectacle of English colonies free in religion, though somewhat fettered in trade, and French colonies orthodox in religion, state-aided and state-organized. It was not for a long time clear with which the advantage lay. The unity given by a conscious aim on the part of the French gave France a very real advantage over the thirteen jealous and divided English colonies, whose disunion was such that a traveller in 1760 wrote 'Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America'. Toleration is a flower of slow growth. It was no more present at first in the colonies than at home. There, as everywhere else, liberty meant privilege—liberty *for* something, *to do* something. One

obtained it at first for oneself, and only gradually extended it to others. Even for the paramount object of self-defence the colonies could not unite. In the formidable rising of the Indians under Pontiac, Massachusetts refused to give help at all, while Connecticut grudgingly gave two hundred and fifty men. It is doubtful if, even with the genius of Washington, the colonies would have gained independence had not France wrested from England for a time command of the sea.

Though the colonies of England were the outcome of religious dissent and individual enterprise, and though there was no elaborately-drawn system for their government and administration, there was from the first a recognition of responsibility. It is true that the treatment of the natives was often better in French colonies, kept strictly in check from home, than in the English ones, left more to themselves, and that the French in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries undertook more missionary work than the English. An Imperial Conscience, however, goes beyond the preaching of Christianity : it imposes the duty of conducting the Empire according to altruistic principles. It assumes a sense of fair play, and a sense of personal responsibility in each several colonist. It lays upon the white man the burden that has become proverbial—the white man's burden. It does more than impose an obligation—it constitutes a trust.

In India there is ample evidence that the conscience of Englishmen and their representatives was awake to the duty of respecting the interests of the native races. As soon as Clive—then Baron Clive of Plassey—assumed the governorship of Bengal he set about removing those abuses on the part of the Company's servants that poor pay and freedom from responsibility had produced. Clive's reforms forced the Company to assume the work of political administration, and during the governorship of Warren Hastings the British Parliament began to take active interest in Indian affairs. In 1772 two Select Committees of the House were appointed to inquire into them. The immediate result was Lord North's Regulating Act, the basis of the constitution of British India,

and the sequel was the trial of Warren Hastings, an episode which, however one may regret it as an attack upon a great and noble civil servant, shows that the idea of ill-treatment of Indians was intolerable to British feeling and stands as a lasting proof of the existence of an Imperial conscience.

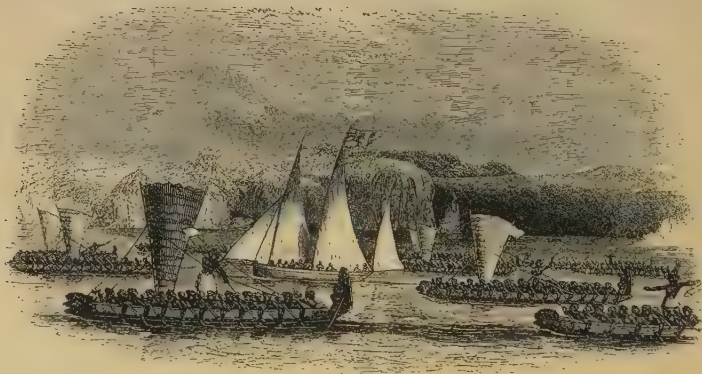
The example thus set up of safeguarding the interests of native races has become a principle of British administration.¹ In India trading has finally been separated from government. In New Zealand the important question of safeguarding native land was provided for by the Treaty of Waitangi, under which it was arranged that only the tribe (not the individual Maori) could sell, and only the Governor (not an individual settler) could buy land occupied by the Maoris. The rights of the Maoris as defined by this treaty have been upheld by Sir George Grey, by Parliament, and finally by the colony itself. In Africa the problem is a difficult one and is complicated by the vast demands for labour which modern enterprises involve. Climate adds to the difficulty of justly assessing land. In the tropical dependencies, where Europeans cannot settle for any length of time, it is possible, as in Northern Nigeria, to declare the land native land, 'for the use and common benefit of the natives,' and to make it subject to native law and custom. In Southern Rhodesia, where the land is more useful to white men, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council rejected the demand of the Chartered Company to possess every foot of land. In South Africa General Botha outlined a policy securing tracts of land to the natives for ever as native reserves. Among all the South African colonies Cape Colony has the most liberal native

¹ The latest expression of this principle is the decision of H.M. Government on the matter of immigration into Kenya Colony: 'The interests of the African natives must be paramount, and if and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail. . . . There can be no room for doubt that

1 is the mission of Great Britain to work continuously for the training and education of the Africans towards a higher intellectual, moral and economic level. . . . The principle of trusteeship for the native is unassailable.'

policy ; and Basutoland, Swasiland, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, under direct imperial rule, are very largely native reserves.¹

In general it may be claimed that British treatment of native races during the nineteenth century has shown an increasing sense of trusteeship. At its best it has succeeded in inspiring actual love. The Pacific Islander detests nothing more than work, and, in the islands that were under German control, would only construct roads under compulsion. But,



Peace making in New Zealand. A mission boat accompanying a war expedition, 1831

knowing that Robert Louis Stevenson believed in roads as leading to civilization, Mataafa and the chiefs who when in prison had tasted Stevenson's kindness, of their own free will built a road, ' the Road of the Loving Heart,' in token of their love for him. The British Government does not wish to withhold education from natives—though it knows that when the market is faced with skilled native workmen competing with white men, fresh and difficult problems arise, as South Africa bears witness.

¹ Natal has reserves, though her Native policy, largely through fear of overwhelming numbers, has been less liberal than that of Cape Colony. There are comparatively few natives in the Free State.

In all matters connected with the management of native races, as with the opening up of new lands, missions have played a foremost part. Missionaries have been the first to learn native languages, and to commit them to writing—they have been the first to educate the natives, the first to civilize them. But in Britain missionary enterprise was not part of a state-organized system. Like colonial enterprise itself, it was a matter of individual initiative. The Reformed Churches were slow to realize the duty or grasp the importance of missions. At first they were more concerned with the conversion of the heathen in their own land—a cry that has not yet ceased to echo. They had to build up their traditions. But in the early days of the foundation of the first empire there were already some who recognized that the missionary was the forerunner of civilization. The Pilgrim Fathers, who left their homes and all they held dear, and faced untold hardships and perils for their faith—and who built their new state on the model of their church—could hardly fail to realize their duty to the heathen. They looked upon the conversion of the Indians as their duty. One of the earliest colonists, John Eliot, earned the title ‘Apostle of the Indians’. He translated the Bible into their language, established schools—he was particularly devoted to the children—and taught simple industries. His work reached the ears of the Long Parliament, who issued a Manifesto in favour of missions in 1647, and led to the establishment of the first English Missionary Society in 1649. Cromwell’s comprehensive genius saw the importance of missions and found time to draw up a scheme which included the training of missionaries. But his death prevented the scheme from being carried out. The East India Company at first provided each of its ships and each of its forts with a chaplain to minister to its officials—though later it violently recanted this policy.

In these missionary efforts Englishmen were stimulated by the example of France. A Society for Foreign Missions was founded in Paris in 1650. Through the efforts of such men

W E H K O M A O N G A N O O

PEANTOGIC

To the people and the world the Pentecost

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Pentecost wof.

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notio pado

Mr. RICHARD BAXTER.

KAH

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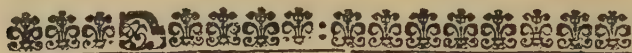
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as François Pallu a great deal was accomplished in the East, in spite of Portuguese jealousy and opposition. Pallu was instrumental in persuading the ministers Mazarin and Colbert to found the French East India Company, in whose ships missionaries afterwards were always granted free passages. He saw that to spread French influence it was necessary to push trade as well as to preach the Gospel. More important still, he insisted upon the necessity of training a native clergy. The importance of missions was realized by Louis XIV. In Canada missions were pressed by the Jesuits with as much devotion and courage as in the East. For deeds of sheer heroism it would be impossible to surpass the records of the Jesuit missionaries, and it is scarcely too much to say that when the Iroquois, the most savage and untameable of all the Indians, succeeded in wrecking the prosperous mission that had been established among the Hurons, torturing the priests and destroying the settlement, the prospects of making a new France perished with it.

In the early days of colonization England was far behind Spain and France in missionary effort, but an interest in missions lasted throughout the seventeenth century. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, for the better education of the clergy at home and abroad, was founded in 1698. This was followed three years later by the foundation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, with the aim of organizing direct missionary work among both settlers and natives in the new plantations. These Societies have ever since looked to the interests of the white man as well as of the native, and have thus been an important link of empire. But as the seventeenth century drew to its close religious zeal cooled. The struggles of the Civil War had confused religion with politics. Cromwell's military rule and the long faces of many of the Puritans made it disliked, while the reaction of the Restoration, with its gaieties, brought in something new to divert men's minds. All over Europe philosophers were preaching reason, not reve-

lation. The light of Faith burnt low all through the eighteenth century and failed to kindle imagination. The greatness of the opportunities was not realized. The new missionary societies continued to exist, but their growth was slow. The Church in America was not granted independence nor afforded opportunity to expand. Until the War of Independence it remained part of the Diocese of London.



A SEASONABLE

PROPOSITION

OF

Propagating the Gospel by Christian Colonies in the Continent of Guai-na : being some gleanings of a larger Discourse drawn, but not published.

By *John Oxenbridge*, a silly worme, too inconsiderable for so great a Work, and therefore needs and desires acceptance and assistance from Above.

Missionary enterprise. A 17th century tract

During the eighteenth century religion was at a low ebb. But in 1738 Wesley came back from preaching to the negroes in Georgia with a new call to a spiritual life. His work, the romance of the series of new discoveries made by Captain Cook, and the spread of knowledge of the world through expanding commerce, helped to bring about the revival of missionary enterprise in the nineteenth century. The great work of missions has been done in the building of the second empire, not in the first. The Church Missionary Society was

founded in 1799 and the Bible Society in 1804. The evangelical missions associated themselves closely with the promoters of the anti-slavery movement.¹ The London Missionary Society sent out missionaries to Tahiti. Livingstone, who married the daughter of the great African missionary Robert Moffat, aroused popular interest in Africa. His very discoveries were rendered possible by the fact that he was a missionary. In 1857 he said—almost in Vasco da Gama's words—'I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity.' Four years later the Universities Mission to Central Africa was founded. In 1813 Wilberforce carried, in the debate on the revision of the East India Company's Charter, a motion to allow missionaries to proceed without hindrance to India.

In recent years two striking developments have been made in mission work, the enrolment of women as missionaries and the establishment of medical missions, and the two are often combined. Doctors and women are able to touch sides of life which the ordinary missions fail to reach. 'Your doctors are winning our hearts, and your women our homes,' a Hindu at Amritsar is reported to have said. In Uganda the welcome accorded to the first women missionaries was almost overwhelming, and repaid the toils of the eight hundred miles march from the coast which had to be made till the railway was built. In grappling with the great problem of Muhammadanism, which condemns women to perpetual degradation and includes slavery in its social system, the co-operation of women missionaries is essential.

The official attitude towards missions is necessarily cautious. But though in part this attitude is due to a desire to avoid friction and to a fear, in Egypt for example, of provoking outbursts of fanaticism, it is in the main the outcome of a very British sentiment in favour of liberty and toleration,

¹ John Woolman, the American Quaker, at the time of the Seven Years War, was perhaps the first to stir the conscience of his brother Quakers on the subject of slavery.

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which disclaims—in the words of the Proclamation which declared India to be part of the British Empire—‘alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects’. The facts that the divisions that mark Christianity at home have been reproduced in the mission field, that the Church of England itself conducts its missionary work through different societies and not through a single organization, and that, altogether, there are more than three hundred organized



A human sacrifice at Otaheite, Society Islands. The victim lies trussed on the ground. Captain Cook enters on the right

societies conducting mission work in the British Commonwealth, afford a further reason for the Government's attitude.

One of the tendencies in the religious life of the Empire to-day is a movement towards a reunion of Christians—particularly of those who are members of the Church of England and the ‘Free Churches’.¹ The Archbishops and Bishops of the Lambeth Conference 1920 have issued an appeal, in which they urge that ‘the times call us to a new outlook and new measures’, and explain ‘the vision that rises before us is that of a Church, genuinely Catholic, loyal

¹ The question of reunion between the Church of England and the Eastern Orthodox Church is not considered here, because there are comparatively few members of the Orthodox Church within the Empire.

to all Truth, and gathering into its fellowship all "who profess and call themselves Christians".'

It may be that even now the Imperial conscience is moving towards reunion. If there is no prospect of its immediate realization the fact that it is being discussed from a sympathetic standpoint is all to the good, and permits the hope



Otaheite. The coming of the missionary, 1799
Mission house and surroundings

that in time a way may be found through the great difficulties involved. Were such a measure to be accomplished the effect at home would be great : in the British Commonwealth it would be enormous. A single and united Church comprising all but a comparatively small proportion¹ of the Christians in the Commonwealth would present a tremendous example to the non-Christian portions of it ; and would release for

¹ The Roman Catholics in Quebec would be the most notable exception.

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common purposes and urgent needs forces that are now unprofitably engaged.

The constructive work which missions have done and are doing in the building of the British Commonwealth is important and far-reaching.¹ Missions have exercised a powerful humanizing influence wherever new lands have been opened up. They have done much to develop a public opinion which is sternly opposed to the exploitation of native races. 'Here comes the Bishop,' the New Zealand colonists used to grumble on Selwyn's approach, 'to prevent us fighting with the natives.' In Jamaica Europeans and coloured races form one communion and jointly manage Church affairs. Missionaries have been prominent as explorers; they have mastered and reduced to writing hundreds of languages: they have been pioneers in education, and have taught what many native races so badly need as a steadying force—habits of industry and self-help. The Bush Brotherhoods of North Queensland

¹ There is abundant testimony from responsible and independent eyewitnesses to support this statement, e. g. :

Lord Lawrence in 1869 wrote of India: 'I believe, notwithstanding all that the English people have done to benefit that country, the missionaries have done more than all other agencies combined.'

Robert Louis Stevenson wrote of Oceania: 'I had conceived a great prejudice against missions in the South Seas and I had no sooner come there than that prejudice was at first reduced and then at last annihilated.'

Charles Darwin said: 'The success of the Tierra del Fuego Mission is most wonderful and charms me, as I always prophesied utter failure. It is a grand success.'

Sir Harry Johnston (*Morning Post*, 1 September 1896): 'No person who desires to make a truthful statement can deny the great good effected by missionary effort in Central Africa,' and again in March 1904, 'He desired to say a hearty word of praise on behalf of the C.M.S. on the Niger.'

Sir Charles Warren, when Governor of Natal, declared that 'for the preservation of peace between the colonists and the natives one missionary is worth more than a whole battalion of soldiers.'

The Marquess of Salisbury officially stated that 'the Government had learned to know the use of missionaries in East Africa. In all departments of life the missionary there was essential to progress.'

are restoring the self-respect of the Aborigines on the principle of 'If a man will not work, neither shall he eat'. Most important of all, the training of native priesthoods and the establishment of independent native churches with their own bishops and clergy afford invaluable preparation for local self-government, to which, by age-long precedent, they directly lead. But in spite of all the civilizing work done by missions and in spite of the sense of trusteeship that is the basis of official administration, the settlement of its policy towards native races is one of the most pressing problems that confronts the British Commonwealth to-day.

At the close of the Napoleonic wars England, although she restored to France most of the French colonies her sea-power had won, found herself possessed of a new colonial empire, for whose government she appointed a new Secretary of State for War and the Colonies. For a time this new Empire was more closely knit to the mother country than the old had been, and Britain's sincerity in governing in the interests of the governed was proved by the abolition of slavery—a measure that was not only contrary to commercial interests but unpopular with the colonists themselves.¹ This period of closer control did not last. The visit of Lord Durham (who had Gibbon Wakefield for his secretary) to Canada, and his famous 'Report' set a new standard—or, it may be truer to say, restored the old standard—of self-government on the political side, while the old economic restrictions vanished under the burning advocacy of Free Trade by Huskisson and Peel. The Mercantile System melted away like ice in summer, so that a repeal of the last remnant of the Navigation Acts in 1849 was little more than a piece of formalism. It is one of the ironies of history that Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the mine that was destined to explode the restrictive economics the colonists hated, should have been published in the year of the Declaration of Independence. It is another

¹ It is significant that Abolition of Slavery took place at a time when the Industrial Revolution was setting a premium on cheap labour.

irony of history that the colonies should have gained both political and economic freedom through the interplay of the party system. The Tories gave them the economic privileges which had been so jealously guarded by the Whigs. The Whigs gave them the political freedom withheld so tenaciously by the Tories.

Until the 'eighties the true meaning of the new relationship was not grasped, either at home or in the Colonies. Gladstone was only typical of his countrymen in failing to conceive the possibility that England might take a leading place in a scheme of world-policy. Until the last two decades of the nineteenth century discontented colonists on the one side and weary statesmen at home on the other freely spoke of separation when their patience was tried. But a policy towards the Colonies that was so manifestly founded on confidence, and a treatment of dependencies that was so unmistakably that of a trustee, told in the long run. The gift of self-government to South Africa at the close of a bitter war, and the effort to give India constitutional government to-day, prove the familiar comparison of the British Commonwealth to a family to be no mere figure of speech. 'All states', wrote Bacon, 'that are liberal of naturalization are fit for empire,' and he commends the Romans not only for their readiness to receive strangers into their body, but for their custom of plantation of colonies. 'And, putting both constitutions together,' he continues, 'you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans; and that was the sure way of greatness.' Something of the same sort might be said of the British Commonwealth. 'In English history,' it has been well said, 'the term "empire" is in brief form a declaration of independence. It proclaims freedom from foreign jurisdiction, and not a claim to exercise jurisdiction over foreigners. It is the assertion of insular autonomy, and not a pretension to world-dominion.'¹ 'The more I study the world,' bitterly reflected Napoleon in exile,

¹ *Democracy and the British Empire*, by F. J. C. Hearnshaw.

'the more convinced I am of the inability of brute force to create anything durable.' The British Empire differs from others in that public opinion in general is against any attempt to hold it together by force. It depends on the goodwill of the peoples comprising it, who prefer British rule to another. With such a conception of empire, democracy goes hand-in-hand.

Varying in form, in motive, in intensity there has always been a conscience, a sense of trusteeship, moderating and shaping British expansion overseas.¹ Empires, like men, live by the flame that is within them. In the British Commonwealth this flame, which is a sense of honour and fair play, and which lies in the motive more than in the deed, has burned with increasing brightness; so that in 1899 and 1914, the hours of Britain's need, the sense of a common heritage and identical interests was felt more immediately and vibrated more intensely on the distant borders of the Commonwealth even than in the centre itself. The doctrine of trusteeship received its authoritative affirmation in the Treaty of Versailles when the Great Powers accepted the principle of the Mandate—that is, they undertook that the native territory placed at the disposal of the Allies should not be exploited by concession-hunters, and that native races should be raised by a wise education to the conception and the practice of a wider and a nobler life. The Mandatory clauses in the covenant of the League of Nations embody the best features of the best English practice in the government of Tropical Dependencies, in particular the principle of equal economic

¹ This is no mere insular opinion. Foreign observers have noted the same thing. Mr. George Santayana, a Spaniard by birth, says of the colonizing Englishman: 'Never since the heroic days of Greece has the world had such a sweet, just, boyish master.' Prof. Raymond Turner of Michigan ranks the British as 'the ablest colonial administrators whom the world had ever seen', and the British Empire as 'one of the most useful and beneficent organizations in the world', while of the government of that Empire he says, 'never has so great an Empire been ruled so justly and so well'.

opportunity for all nations, and the principle of the non-militarization of native inhabitants. 'How much (the principle of the Mandate) will mean in practice depends primarily on us. We first upheld the doctrine, we must lead the way in its application, more consciously and resolutely now, at this great turning-point in history, than ever before. It *is* difficult, so difficult indeed that Mr. Worldlywiseman may be tempted to warn us that it is not really a practical proposition among imperfect men in this work-a-day world, and that nothing will prevent the strong from pushing the weak against the wall. Well, we have our answer to that. It was no unpractical dreamer, inexperienced in realities, who said that "the essential points of a sound Imperial policy admit of being embodied in this one statement, that . . . our relations with the various races who are subjects of the King of England should be founded on the granite rock of the Christian code". These words were written by Lord Cromer.'¹

¹ Prof. Coupland, Inaugural Lecture on *The Study of the British Commonwealth*.

APPENDIX

DOMINIONS, COLONIES, PROTECTORATES, AND MANDATED TERRITORIES

	<i>Area in Sq. Miles.</i>	<i>Population, 1922.</i>
<i>Europe—</i>		
Irish Free State	26,592	3,139,688 (1911 census)
Malta	122	216,700
Cyprus	3,584	310,715 (1921 census)
Gibraltar	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	17,599
Total for Europe	<u>30,299$\frac{3}{4}$</u>	<u>3,684,702</u>
<i>Asia—</i>		
India ¹	1,805,332	318,942,480
Palestine *	9,000	757,182 (1921 census)
Iraq *	116,511	2,849,282 (1919 figures)
Aden ²	9,000	100,000
Ceylon	25,332	4,498,605 (1921 census)
Hong-Kong	394	662,200
Wei-hai-wei ³	285	154,416 (1921 census)
Straits Settlements	1,600	896,700 (estimated)
Federated Malay States . .	27,698	1,298,292 (exclusive of Sakai)
Malay States not included in the Federation :	<u>108,664</u>	<u>2,008,323</u>
Total for Asia	<u>2,103,816</u>	<u>332,167,480</u>

¹ For details see below.

² i.e. Aden Protectorate; see under India, Bombay, for Aden Settlement, Perim and Socotra.

³ Arrangements for retrocession to China now under consideration.

* Mandated Territory.

INDIA

(a) <i>British India—Provinces.</i>		<i>Area in Sq. Miles.</i>	<i>Population (1921 Census).</i>
1. Madras ¹	.	142,260	42,318,985
2. Bombay (Presidency) ²	.	123,621	19,348,219
3. Bengal	.	76,843	46,695,536
4. United Provinces	.	106,295	45,375,787
5. Punjab	.	99,846	20,685,024
6. Burma	.	233,707	13,212,192
7. Bihar and Orissa	.	83,161	34,002,189
8. Central Provinces and Berar	.	99,876	13,912,760
9. Assam	.	53,015	7,606,230
10. North-West Frontier Province (District and Administered Territories)	.	13,419	2,251,340
11. Baluchistan	.	54,228	420,648
12. Ajmer-Merwara	.	2,711	495,271
13. Coorg	.	1,582	163,838
14. Delhi	.	593	488,188
15. Andaman and Nicobar Islands	.	3,143	27,086
Total British Territory		1,094,300	247,003,293

¹ Including Laccadive Islands.

² Including Aden and Perim, 80 sq. miles, 56,500 population, and Socotra.

(b) <i>Native States.</i>		<i>Area in Sq. Miles.</i>	<i>Population (1921 Census).</i>
16. Assam State (Manipur)	.	8,456	384,016
17. Baluchistan States	.	80,410	378,977
18. Baroda State	.	8,127	2,126,522
19. Bengal States	.	5,434	896,926
20. Bihar and Orissa States	.	28,648	3,959,669
21. Bombay States	.	63,453	7,409,429
22. Central India States	.	51,531	5,997,023
23. Central Provinces States	.	31,176	2,066,900
24. Gwalior State	.	26,357	3,186,075
25. Hyderabad State	.	82,698	12,471,770
26. Kashmir State	.	84,258	3,320,518
27. Madras States	.	10,696	5,460,312
28. Mysore State	.	29,475	5,978,892
29. North-West Frontier Province (Agencies and Tribal Areas)	.	25,500	2,825,136
30. Punjab States	.	37,059	4,416,036
31. Rajputana States	.	128,987	9,844,384
32. Sikkim State	.	2,818	81,721
33. United Provinces States	.	5,949	1,134,881
Total Indian States		711,032	71,939,187
Total British Territory		1,094,300	247,003,293
GRAND TOTAL, INDIA		1,805,332	318,942,480

<i>Africa—</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles.</i>	<i>Population, 1922.</i>
Union of South Africa	473,089	7,056,547
South-West Africa ¹ *	322,000	227,739 (1921 census)
Southern Rhodesia	149,000	882,461
Northern Rhodesia	291,000	981,509
Basutoland	11,716	498,781 (1921 census)
Bechuanaland	275,000	158,152 (1921 census)
Swaziland	6,678	114,107
Nyasaland	39,956	1,200,816
Tanganyika*	373,494	4,123,000
Uganda	110,300	3,066,327
Kenya	248,000	2,529,633 (1921 census)
Zanzibar	1,020	196,733
Somaliland	68,000	347,000
Mauritius	720	376,314
Seychelles	156	24,705
Nigeria	366,850 ²	18,707,000 (1921 census)
Gold Coast	91,690 ³	2,299,267 (1921 census)
Sierra Leone	31,000	1,541,311 (1921 census)
Gambia	4,000	210,530
St. Helena	47	3,670
Ascension	34	—
Sudan (Anglo-Egyptian)	1,014,600	4,000,000
Total for Africa	3,878,350	48,545,602

¹ Mandated to the Union of South Africa.

² Including the mandated area of the Cameroons.

³ Including the mandated area of Togoland.

* Mandated Territory.

<i>America—</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles.</i>	<i>Population, 1922.</i>
Canada	3,729,665 ¹	8,966,834
Newfoundland and Labrador	162,000 ²	262,979
Bermuda	19	22,610
British Guiana	89,464	297,691 (1921 census)
British Honduras	8,598	45,538
Falkland Islands	7,500 ³	3,431
Total for America	3,997,246	9,599,083

¹ Including 125,755 square miles of water.

² Approximate.

³ Including South Georgia.

<i>West Indies—</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles.</i>	<i>Population, 1922.</i>
Bahamas	4,403	56,151
Barbados	166	155,820
Jamaica	4,450	871,114
Turks and Caicos Islands	166	5,612
Cayman Islands . .	55	5,253
Trinidad and Tobago .	1,976	368,943
Windward Islands :		
Grenada	133	66,302
St. Lucia	233	52,250
St. Vincent	150	44,447 (1921 census)
Leeward Islands :		
Antigua	704	122,242
Dominica		
Montserrat		
St. Kitts and Nevis		
Virgin Islands		
Total for West Indies	12,436	1,748,134

<i>The Pacific.</i>	<i>Area in Sq. Miles.</i>	<i>Population, 1922.</i>
Commonwealth of Australia :		
New South Wales . . .	310,372 ¹	2,149,202
Victoria	87,884	1,570,640
Queensland	670,500	775,358
Western Australia . .	975,920	339,501
South Australia . . .	380,070	505,069
Tasmania	26,215	213,877
Northern Territory . .	523,620	3,710
New Zealand	103,861 ²	1,303,693 ³
Fiji	7,083	157,266
Gilbert and Ellice Islands	170	33,000
Solomon Islands . . .	11,000	150,583 ⁴
Tonga	350	24,935
Papua	90,540	1,104 (Europeans only)
New Guinea*	92,000	1,288 (Europeans only)
Western Samoa* . . .	1,133	37,157
Nauru*	8	1,400
Total for the Pacific	3,280,726	7,267,783

¹ Including Lord Howe Island, 59 square miles, and Federal Territory, 940 square miles—912 at Canberra and 28 at Jarvis Bay.

² Including outlying and annexed islands.

³ Excluding residents of Cook and other annexed islands, 13,209.

⁴ Including natives estimated at 150,000.

* Mandated Territory.

The New Hebrides, which are administered as a condominium under the British and French Governments, are not included in the foregoing list.

There are a large number of islands and rocks scattered over the world that are British territory, although not included in any colony; on many of them there is no permanent habitation. These are too numerous to set out by name; but reference may be made to two which have from time to time attracted attention, and which are permanently inhabited—Tristan da Cunha in the South Atlantic, first occupied during Napoleon's residence at St. Helena: the inhabitants, numbering between 100 and 200, enjoy their possessions in common, and are under the moral rule of the oldest inhabitant; and Pitcairn Island in the Pacific, first occupied in 1790 by the mutineers of H.M.S. *Bounty*.

On the Meaning of the Term 'Mandate'.

The Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 22, provides that

'To those colonies and territories which, in consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.'

Thus tenure by mandate is a definitely trustee tenure, and the Mandatory Power is a managing trustee, bound to give an account of its stewardship year by year to a Permanent Commission of the Council of the League of Nations.

(See Lucas, *The Partition and Colonization of Africa*, appendix iv.)

SOME SUGGESTIONS ON BOOKS

IN the following list an attempt has been made to supply the reader with sources whence he can form conclusions for himself. In almost every case the books recommended are by writers who have had some personal connexion with the matters of which they treat.

* For introductory reading.

† For specialized study.

ATLAS.

Robertson and Bartholomew, *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*. Clarendon Press.

GENERAL.

Lucas (edited), *Historical Geography of the Dominions beyond the Seas* (seven vols.). Clarendon Press.

Herbertson and Howarth. *Oxford Survey of the British Empire* (six vols.). Clarendon Press.

*A. F. Pollard, *History of England*. Home University Library.

*Seeley, *Expansion of England*. Macmillan.

*Bacon, *Essays ; of Plantations ; of Empire ; of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates*.

*Keith (edited), *Selected Speeches and Documents on British Colonial Policy* (two vols.). World's Classics.

†Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*. Methuen.

†Egerton, *British Colonial Policy in the Twentieth Century*. Methuen.

†Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (three vols.). Clarendon Press.

AFRICA.

*Sir H. H. Johnston, *Colonization of Africa by Alien Races*. Cambridge Press.

Brand, *The Union of South Africa*. Clarendon Press.

Basil Williams, *Cecil Rhodes*. Constable.

Sir H. H. Johnston, *David Livingstone*. Philip.

*Lugard, *The Story of Uganda*. Horace Marshall.

Lady Lugard, *A Tropical Dependency*. Nisbet.

Lucas, *The Partition and Colonization of Africa*. Clarendon Press.

†Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa*. Blackwood.

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AUSTRALIA.

*Scott, *Short History of Australia*. Clarendon Press.

Sir C. G. Wade, *Australia—Problems and Prospects*. Clarendon Press.

†Pember Reeves, *State Experiments in Australia and New Zealand* (two vols.). Grant Richards.

Brunsdon Fletcher, *The Problem of the Pacific*. Heinemann.

CANADA.

*Bradley, *Canada*. Home University Library.

Lucas, *History of Canada, 1763-1812*. Clarendon Press.

Siegfried, *The Race Question in Canada*. Nash.

†Skelton, *Sir A. T. Galt and Sir W. Laurier*. Clarendon Press.

EGYPT.

†Cromer, *Modern Egypt* (two vols.). Macmillan.

*Worsfold, *The Future of Egypt*. Collins.

INDIA.

*Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India*. Home University Library.

Ramsay Muir, *The Making of British India*. Manchester Univ. Press.

Vincent Smith, *The Oxford History of India, from the earliest times to the end of 1911*. Clarendon Press.

NEW ZEALAND.

*Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud*. Horace Marshall.

U.S.A.

Max Farrand, *Development of the United States*. Jack.

*Drinkwater, *Abraham Lincoln* (play).

MISSIONS.

Mrs. Creighton, *Missions*. Home University Library.

Frazer, *The Future of Africa*. Young People's Missionary Movement.

Andrews, *The Renaissance in India*. Young People's Missionary Movement.

SEA-POWER.

Mahan, *The Influence of Sea-power on History*. Sampson Low.

*Household, *Our Sea-power*. Macmillan.

Callender, *Sea Kings*. Longmans.

	<i>The British Isles and Europe.</i>	<i>America.</i>
1750		
1760	1763 Peace of Paris	1759 Quebec captured
1770		1774 Quebec Act 1775 American War of Independence
1780	1783 Treaty of Versailles	
	1789 French Revolution	

Time Chart

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<i>Africa.</i>	<i>India.</i>	<i>The Pacific.</i>
	1757 Plassey	
1770 Source of Blue Nile discovered	1773 Lord North's Regulating Act 1774 Warren Hastings Governor-General	1770 Cook landed in Australia.
	1784 Pitt's India Act	
1787 Sierra Leone founded		1788 First Convict Settlement in Australia.

	<i>The British Isles and Europe.</i>	<i>America.</i>
1790		
	1793 War with France	
		1798 Washington first President of U.S.A.
1800		
	1802 Treaty of Amiens	
	1803 Napoleonic War	1803 Louisiana purchased by U.S.A.
	1805 Trafalgar	
1810		
		1812 War between Britain and U.S.A.
	1815 Congress of Vienna	1814 Treaty of Ghent
1820		
		1819 Florida ceded by Spain
		1823 Monroe Doctrine formulated
		1825 Independence of S. American republics acknowledged
		1827 First railroads in U.S.A.
	1829 Stephenson's <i>Rocket</i>	

Time Chart

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<i>Africa.</i>	<i>India.</i>	<i>The Pacific.</i>
1795 Mungo Park's exploration in W. Africa	1798 Lord Wellesley Governor-General	1795 First settlements in New Zealand.
1814 The Cape finally ceded to Britain		1813 Exploration of Murray basin. 1814 Missionaries in New Zealand.
		1825 New Zealand Colonization Co.

	<i>The British Isles and Europe.</i>	<i>America.</i>
1830	1832 Reform Act 1833 Slavery abolished in British Dominions	
1840	1840 Penny Postage in United Kingdom	1837 First railway in Canada 1839 Lord Durham's Report
	1846 Corn Laws repealed	1845 Texas joins the States 1846 Responsible government in Canada
1850		1849 Gold found in California
	1854 Crimean War	
1860		1858 Gold found in British Columbia
		1861 Lincoln President of U.S.A. American Civil War
	1867 Disraeli's Reform Bill	1867 Canadian Federation
		1869 Union Pacific Railway

Time Chart

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<i>Africa.</i>	<i>India.</i>	<i>The Pacific.</i>
1830 Niger explored		1830 Wakefield's Colonization Society.
	1833 Civil Service opened to Indians	1834 Settlement at Melbourne.
1836 The Great Trek		1836 Settlement at Adelaide.
	1839 Aden occupied	1841 Hong-Kong ceded to Britain.
1843 Natal a British Colony		1842 Tahiti occupied by French.
1848 Orange River District annexed	1848 Lord Dalhousie Governor-General	
1852 S. African Republic recognized		1851 Gold found in Victoria.
1854 Cape Colony Constitution	1853 First Indian railway	1852 N. Z. Constitution Act.
1856 Central Africa crossed by Livingstone	1857 Indian Mutiny 1858 End of E. India Company	1855 Australian Constitution Act.
1867 Diamonds found in South Africa	1867 Straits Settlements a Crown Colony	
1869 Suez Canal opened		

	<i>The British Isles and Europe.</i>	<i>America.</i>
1870	1870 Franco-Prussian War	1871 Treaty of Washington
1880	1884 Berlin Conference	1885 Canadian Pacific Railway completed
1890	1897 Diamond Jubilee Imperial Conference	1898 War between U.S.A. and Spain
1900	1904 Anglo-French agreement	1903 Alaska boundary decided
	1907 Anglo-Russian agreement 1908 Anglo-French Entente	

<i>Africa.</i>	<i>India.</i>	<i>The Pacific.</i>
1874 Stanley on the Congo		1872 Australian over-land telegraph.
1876 Dual control in Egypt		1874 Fiji annexed.
1877 Transvaal annexed	1877 Queen proclaimed Empress	
1880 Transvaal rebellion		
1882 Arabi rising in Egypt		
1883 Kruger President of Transvaal		
1885 Death of Gordon		
1886 Gold found in Transvaal		
Royal Niger Co.		
1888 British E. Africa Co.		
1889 British S. Africa Co.		
1890 Rhodes Prime Minister at Cape		
1894 Uganda Protectorate		
1895 Jameson Raid		
1896 E. African Protectorate		
1898 Omdurman		
1899 Boer War		
1900 Niger Co. territories taken over by Crown		
1906 Responsible government in Transvaal	1908 Muslim League 1909 Morley-Minto reforms	1904 Russo-Japanese War.

Time Chart

	<i>The British Isles and Europe.</i>	<i>America.</i>
1910		
	1914 The European War	1913 Wilson President of U.S.A. 1914 Panama Canal opened
	1917 Jerusalem taken	1917 U.S.A. joins in the War
	1919 Peace of Versailles The Covenant of the League of Nations	
1920		

<i>Africa.</i>	<i>India.</i>	<i>The Pacific.</i>
1910 Union of South Africa	1911 King at the Durbar	
1914 Egypt a British Protectorate		1917 Railway between E. and W. Australia.
	1918 Montagu-Chelmsford report	1919 Mandate to Australia for New Guinea ; to New Zealand for Samoa.
1920 Lord Milner's Report on Egypt		
1923 Fuad I King of Egypt		

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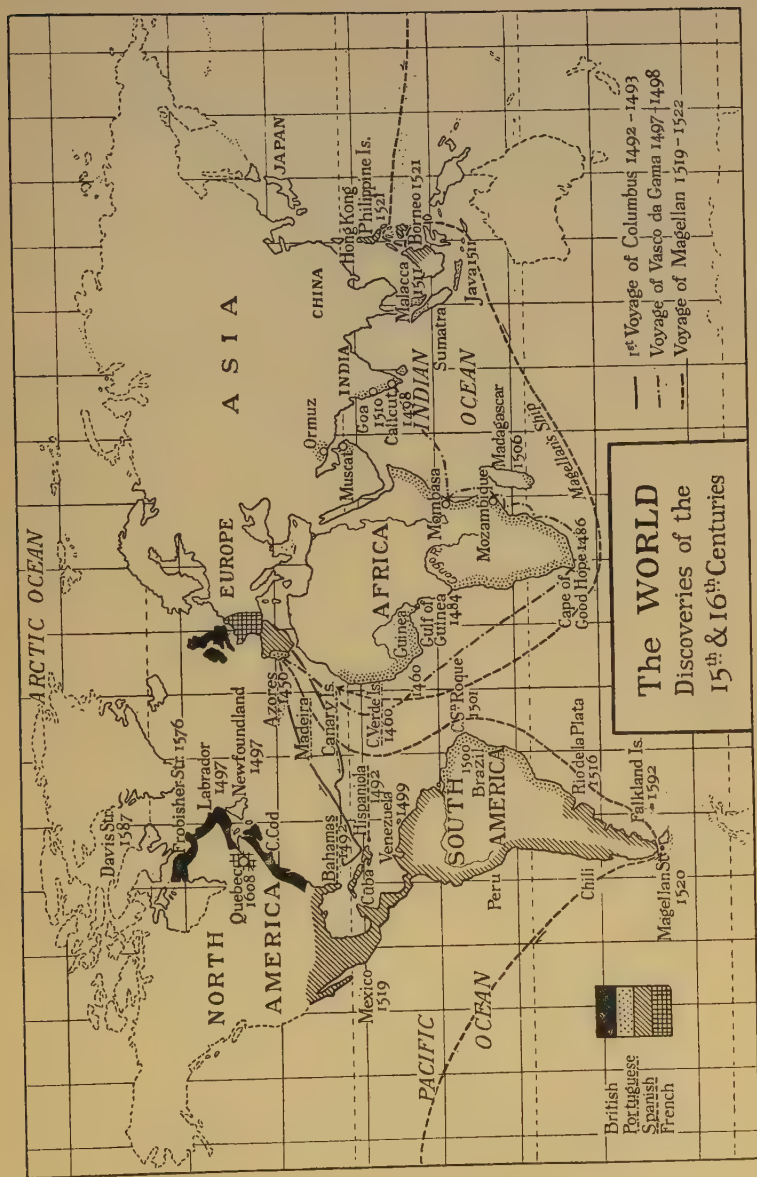
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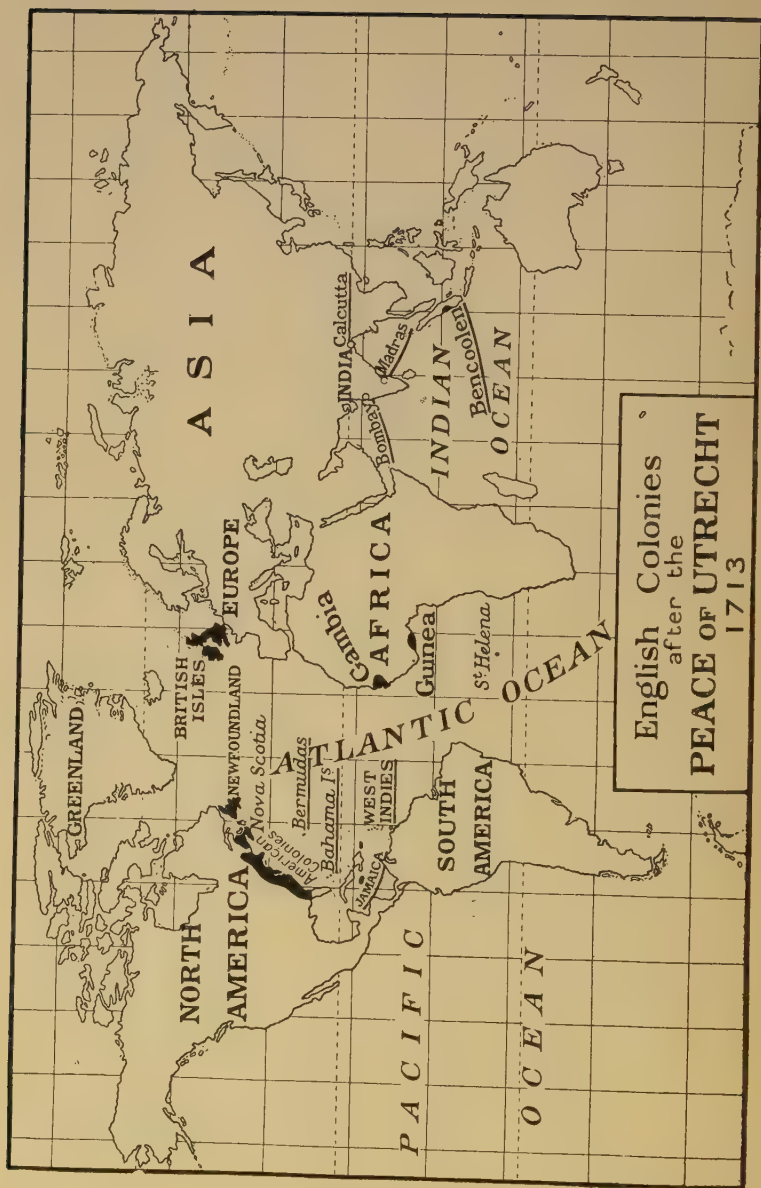
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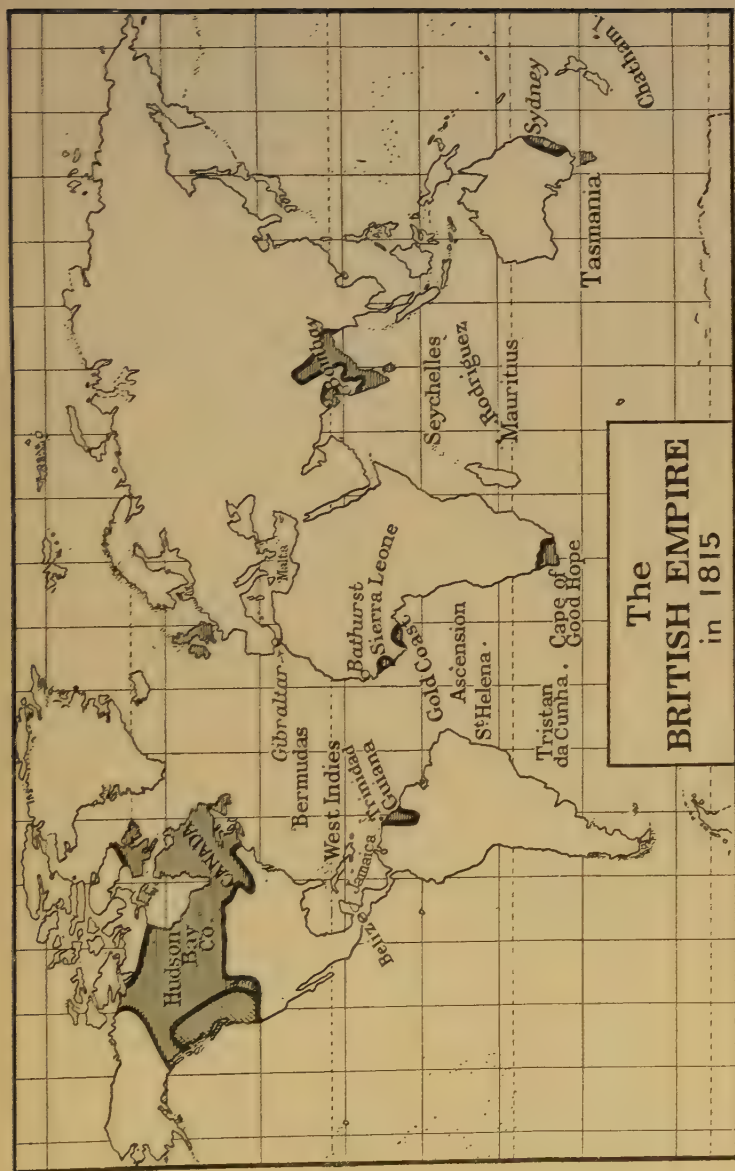
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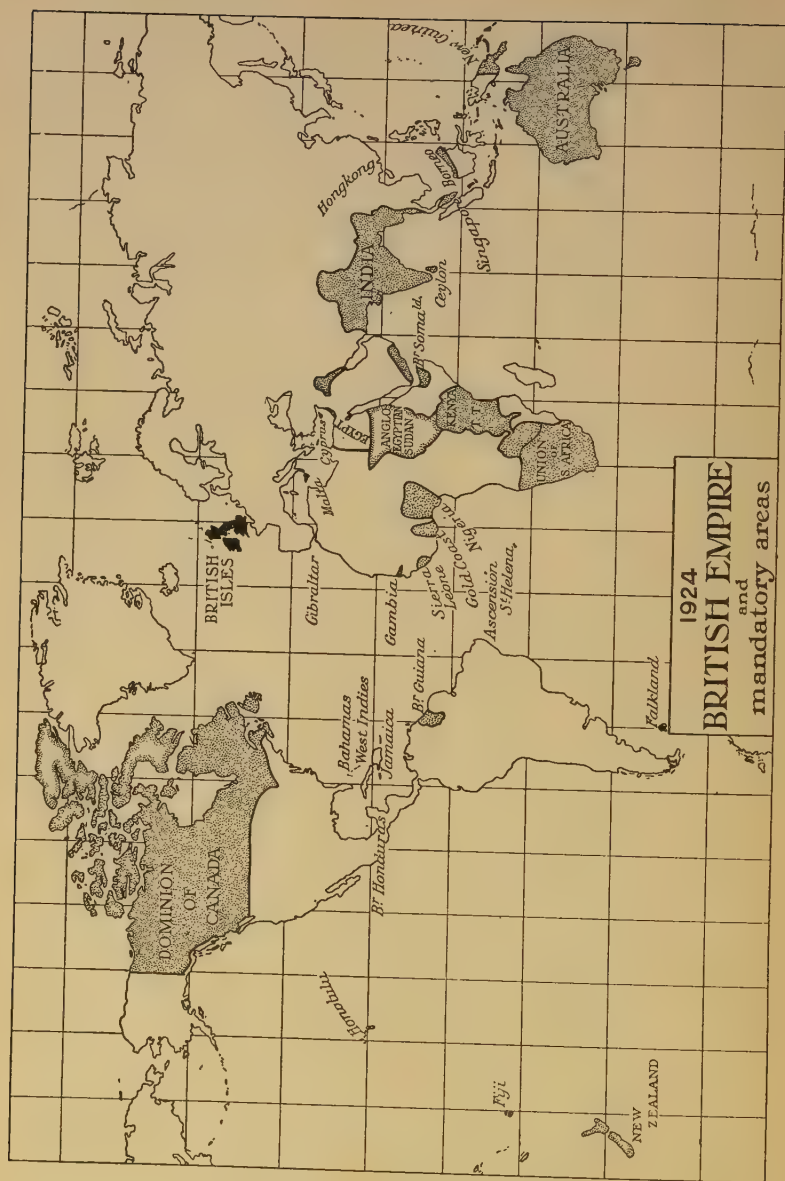
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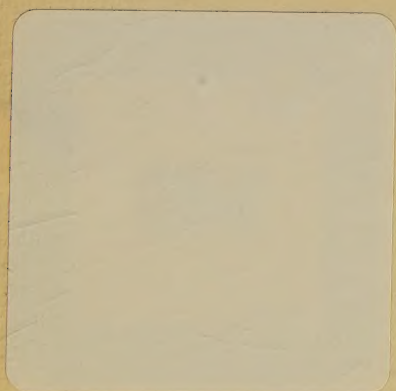








1924
BRITISH EMPIRE
and
mandatory areas



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